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# CHRISTIAN ROME.

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# CHRISTIAN ROME.

A HISTORICAL VIEW  
OF ITS  
MEMORIES AND MONUMENTS  
41—1867

BY  
EUGÈNE DE LA GOURNERIE.

---

TRANSLATED AND ABRIDGED  
BY  
THE HON. LADY MACDONALD.  
WITH A PREFACE BY H. E. CARDINAL VAUGHAN.

*Imperium sine fine dedit.  
Virgil.*

VOLUME II.

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# CHRISTIAN ROME.

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## CHAPTER XV.

O sainte Église de Rome! tes pontifes  
seront bientôt proclamés agents suprêmes  
de la civilisation.

*Le Maître.*

## FIFTEENTH CENTURY.



AT the beginning of the fifteenth century Rome witnessed a noble example of humble virtue; Francesca di Bucci, or di Buxis, belonged to a rich and powerful family of the Roman aristocracy; (1) but neither the luxury with which she had been surrounded from her birth, nor the brilliant future before her, could spoil the simplicity of her heart. Even as a child, she established a retreat in her father's house, in order to give herself up to meditation and prayer. When eleven years of age she resolved to enter a convent; but her parents had other views, and, having arranged a noble alliance with Lorenzo Ponzani, they married her to him without consulting her wishes. Francesca submitted with obedience, and in her new position gained the love of

(1) She was born in 1384, her parents being Paolo di Buxis and Giacobella Rofredeschi.

all who surrounded her. Her only thoughts were for God, the poor, and her family, and she carefully avoided everything which distracts the mind, and leaves the heart void. A great number of Roman ladies were drawn to follow her example, and joining her they formed a pious community. Such were the occupations of Francesca when one of those political crises, so frequent at Rome in those unhappy days, arose to cast trouble in her life. Her husband was banished, her eldest son imprisoned, their estates being confiscated by the victor: at the same time several of her children died, but Francesca, amid her tears, found strength by absolute resignation to the Divine Will; she worshipped and prayed. When this cruel trial was over, and her husband and one of her sons had been restored to her, she could scarcely contain her joy and thankfulness. Henceforth Francesca and her husband became like brother and sister, Francesca devoting herself to founding a convent for maidens and widows who desired to withdraw from the world. She herself drew up the rules which required no solemn vows, but only an offering up of oneself, an oblation, whence came the name of Oblates bestowed on the new nuns. This institution rapidly prospered: at the end of eight years, the building becoming too small, Francesca transferred the Society to a convent, known as the Tor de' Specchi at the foot of the Capitol. When Lorenzo died, she entered this holy community, and for long refused the rights and privileges which the nuns were anxious to give her as their foundress. She even submitted to perform the most menial tasks, and was sometimes seen leading

an ass, which bore provisions for the convent, through the streets of Rome. Her abnegation, humility, and the extremely severe discipline to which she subjected herself, so raised Francesca above earthly life that she had extasies and revelations, while God filled her with supernatural graces. She died on the 9th of March, 1440, and her body was at once carried to S. Maria-Novella, the church of the Olivetans, it being the headquarters of her congregation. (1) The people crowded so eagerly to S. Maria that it was impossible to celebrate the divine office, and the saint's body was hurriedly placed in its coffin, in order to protect it from the pious enthusiasm of the faithful.

S. Frances of Rome was only canonized in 1608, though she had long before then been venerated at Rome. The church of S. Maria-Novella, where she was buried, has been placed under her invocation, her festival being always celebrated there with great devotion and pomp. The memory of this saint lingers also in the convent of the Tor de' Specchi, the ancient Basilica of S. Maria-trans-Tiberim, where for long she had obtained guidance and strength from the good priest who had received her confidence, and in the oratory of SS. Maria-e-Giacomo-in-capella, near her dwelling, close to which she had founded a hospital where she used to nurse the sick.

It is melancholy to turn away from these virtues, in order to record the quarrels which were tearing

(1) S. Frances had placed her institute under the direction of the monks of Mt. Olivet. Her tomb, lavishly adorned with precious marbles, is the work of Bernini.

Rome and Christendom asunder. The Western schism continued: Pierre de Lune wore the tiara at Avignon under the name of BENEDICT XIII, while BONIFACE IX, INNOCENT VII, and GREGORY XII succeeded each other on the pontifical Chair at Rome. Vast kingdoms, learned universities, and great saints belonged to each side: the Blessed Pierre de Luxembourg and S. Vincent Ferrier acknowledged the Pope at Avignon; SS. Catherine of Siena, Bernardin, and Frances submitted to the Pope at Rome. It is clear that amid such divisions and strife the political state of Rome could not improve. On the accession of each Pontiff a covenant was signed between him and the inhabitants, in order to determine their respective rights and privileges; but this agreement was, more often than not, a dead letter, and one day's mutiny sufficed to obliterate it. The chiefs of the various quarters steadily endeavoured to form themselves into a sovereign council; they had enlisted the Ghibelline faction in their quarrel, at the head of which were the Savelli and Colonna. The Guelfs were led by the Orsini, and their influence extended over a great part of the people. In such strained relations conflicts could not be otherwise than frequent. After one of these struggles INNOCENT VII escaped with difficulty to Viterbo, and Ladislas, the King of Naples, on the invitation of the Colonna, seized the pontifical palace. But the advent of this Prince, whose ambitious views were noticeable even beneath the veil of moderation with which he sought to hide them, only served to hasten the reaction. The Romans would not submit on any terms to the domination of Ladislas, and were so united and

energetic on this point that they succeeded in making themselves masters of the Capitol and of all the fortified places in the city, with the exception of the Castle of S. Angelo. Then they recalled INNOCENT VII, who re-entered Rome amid the liveliest acclamations; Ladislas even surrendering the Castle of S. Angelo.

This Prince pretended to be satisfied with the course of events, in order that he might deceive those who trusted in him. His pretensions to the dominions of the Church were of ancient date, and he never renounced them. Thus, in 1408, we see him again returning to the attack, and seizing Rome, just when the minds of everybody were filled with the negotiations that were on foot to extinguish the schism. These negotiations brought about a new phase in the state of that deplorable affair. The Cardinals of both parties united in convoking a Council at Pisa. This council summoned the two Popes of Rome and Avignon to appear before it, and, on their refusal, it declared they had both forfeited their dignities, and nominated, as Pope, Peter (Philargi) of Candia, archbishop of Milan, who took the title of ALEXANDER V. Thus, instead of two Popes, there were now three, ALEXANDER V, GREGORY XII, and BENEDICT XIII; but the obstinacy of the two latter, in maintaining a title they had often promised to resign, led to the withdrawal of most European nations from their obedience. Soon GREGORY XII found no other refuge than Rimini; BENEDICT XIII was obliged to withdraw to Catalonia, and ALEXANDER V received the envoys from the Roman people in state at Bologna, where they brought him the keys, the seals, and the standard of the city.

Nevertheless, he would not go to Rome; (1) but Baldassare Cossa, who succeeded him under the name of JOHN XXIII, took possession of the city in 1411. He entered it in company with the Duke of Anjou, who laid claim to the crown of Naples, in consequence of which he was used as a weapon by the Pope against Ladislas. JOHN XXIII presented the great standard of the Church to Louis of Anjou, who set out from Rome with Paolo Orsini, general of the pontifical troops, and, encountering Ladislas's army on the banks of the Garigliano, he completely defeated it after a sanguinary battle. "The Sicilians were so driven along," say the Chronicles, "that they appeared to have the lightning and thunderbolts of heaven in their rear." (2)

After so crushing a defeat one might suppose that Ladislas could only despair of the future; that, however, was not in his nature. Soon he re-appeared at the gates of Rome, and JOHN XXIII hastened to make peace at any price. But Ladislas, taking advantage of his good fortune, opened a breach near S. Croce-in-Gerusalemme, during the night of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> of June 1413, and suddenly entered the city. The Romans were only awakened by the trampling of horses; the Pope was resting without fear, but, on hearing that the Neapolitans were in possession of the left bank of the Tiber, "bitterness and dread," says Monstrelet, seized upon him; he no longer believed himself safe either in the Vatican, or in the Castle of

(1) Alexander V died at Bologna the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 1410.

(2) Pogg., "Hist. Flor".

S. Angelo; so, hurriedly mounting his horse, he fled to Viterbo, to Montefiascone, to Siena, and to Florence, in terror of the thousand arms of Ladislas. (1)

This invasion of Ladislas recalled, by its excesses, those of the Normans and Vandals. A considerable number of the Pope's domestics were massacred; palaces were given over to pillage; the treasures of the pontifical chapel and of churches, jewels belonging to the Holy See, relics set in gold and precious stones, all things that had a monetary value, were heaped upon the conqueror's waggons. Horses might be seen secured to altars in the Basilicas, drunkards tippling and toasting in the Holy Place, while the very sanctuary of the Vatican was given up to profane meetings. At the same time the Pontiff's armorial bearings were replaced by the Neapolitan flag at the Vatican, the Lateran, and the Capitol, and, when the Castle of S. Angelo surrendered, and Ladislas was in undisputed possession of the city, banishment, the galleys, torture and death repayed the fidelity of those who had remained true to the cause of the Church. Such was the state of affairs when Lorenzo Ponzani, the husband of S. Frances of Rome, was exiled, and his son cast into prison.

This government by brute force lasted one year; but, in August 1414, Ladislas died, just as he was preparing to follow the Pope to his last retreat. After his death the legates of JOHN XXIII were enabled to enter the capital without any opposition. John was so overjoyed at this event that he ordered a solemn

(1) Monstrelet, Book I, Chap. CXII.



procession through the streets of Constance, where he then was, in order to return thanks to Almighty God. The reason for the Pope's residence in Constance was to hold a General Council, the main object of which was to extinguish the schism. All the Christian princes had united in order to secure a large assembly, and, after many hesitations, JOHN XXIII had decided to preside at it. The history of the Council of Constance does not fall within the scope of this work: we need only record that by electing Cardinal Otho Colonna, who took the name of MARTIN V, it restored unity and peace to the Church. (1) This election took place on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November 1417; but the new Pontiff only entered Rome three years later, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of September 1420. The Romans were so overjoyed at his arrival that the day became a marked one in the annals of the Capitol.

Platina thus records the event: "MARTIN V, having bidden farewell to Florence, at length approached Rome. What remained of the Princes and people came forth to greet him with great joy, welcoming him as the star of salvation, the hope supreme. The Pope found Rome in so great a state of decay that it no longer appeared to be a city. Houses were either tottering or had fallen down, churches were destroyed, streets desolate; everything bore the stamp of ruin and long neglect. Even the faces of the inhabitants bore traces of want and misery. There were no longer signs of rejoicing, or of Rome's ancient beauty."

(1) Pierre de Lune nevertheless stuck to the tiara, and died in schism.

This was the result of Ladislas's occupation of the city. S. Peter's portico was so much defaced that it had to be pulled down; the Lateran was roofless; the church of the SS. Apostoli was but a mere semblance of itself. MARTIN V however set to work; he repressed lawlessness, rebuilt Basilicas, and recalled exiles. Government, politics, administration, letters, arts, and civilisation in general received encouragement from the Pontiff's spirit of order and good feeling. The nave of the Lateran was adorned with pictures by Vittorio Pisanello and Gentile di Fabriano. Vasari speaks of Pisanello's work as being charming and beautiful; his reputation was chiefly due to an ultramarine-blue given to him by the Pope. (1) A century later Michael Angelo praised Gentile's work saying that his talent was as graceful as his name. (2) Masaccio was covering with frescoes the walls of S. Clemente and S. Maria-Maggiore, (3) and MARTIN V was rebuilding the SS. Apostoli with renewed splendour in its decorations and architecture. "In a short while", say the chroniclers, "Rome regained her ancient splendour, and appeared more brilliant than ever."

(1) "Vite de' più eccellenti" — etc. . vol. II.

(2) Vasari, vol. II. Gentile adorned Cardinal Adimari's tomb at S. Maria-Novella with paintings. They no longer exist.

(3) Masaccio's pictures at S. Clemente represented our Lord's Passion and some scenes out of the life of S. Catherine, Martyr; they have been inartistically retouched. The frescoes at S. Maria Maggiore have disappeared. Masaccio had introduced portraits of the Emperor Sigismund and Pope Martin V into one of his compositions.

Poggio has left us an interesting description of Roman antiquities at this period. He reckons eleven temples more or less well preserved, seven baths, of which two, those of Diocletian and Caracalla, still excited admiration by their beauty, their vastness, the variety of their marbles and the majesty of their columns. In addition to the three still existing arches of Septimus Severus, Titus, and Constantine, he mentions as a crumbling ruin the arch of Trajan and two other arches standing on the Flaminian way. After referring to the Coliseum he speaks of a small brick amphitheatre, probably for the use of the Prætorian camp, etc. As to the population of gods and heroes, whose statues and masterpieces of art had adorned ancient Rome, all that remained were a bronze equestrian figure and five marble statues, the most noteworthy of which were the two horses of Phidias and Praxiteles. The walls of Rome had an extent of ten miles; they were flanked with 379 towers, and pierced by thirteen gates.

MARTIN V was honoured with the glorious title of Father of his country. Among the monuments which recall his memory may be cited S. Maria-del-Popolo, where he spent two days on his return from Constance before entering the city in state. Martin succumbed to an apoplectic fit on the 20<sup>th</sup> February 1431. He had occupied the palace of the SS. Apostoli, which was his family residence at Rome.

Towards the last days of his pontificate, S. Bernardin came to Rome after making many conversions in Northern Italy. Bernardin belonged to the Albizzi of Siena. Having studied under distinguished masters,

he devoted himself to nursing the sick, with other young worldlings who enrolled themselves under the Virgin's banner, bearing the title of the disciplined of the Virgin. Bernardin's fervent charity was put to a severe test by a terrible contagion which filled the hospitals of Siena with plague-stricken inmates; but his devotedness only increased with public suffering. At the age of twenty-three he took religious vows in the Franciscan Order, on the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, which was also his birthday, and henceforth devoted himself entirely to preaching. Lombardy, Romagna, Tuscany and Umbria by turns echoed his successes. Bernardin had so loving a respect for the name of Jesus that he always carried it about with him, written on a small panel in gold letters surrounded with rays. He used to hold this little picture when he preached, hoping thereby to excite the devotion of his congregation. This custom astonished the Romans, and was denounced to MARTIN V by some envious persons as an act of idolatry; but the saint frankly and completely cleared himself of the charge. He returned a second time to Rome with the Emperor Sigismund, who came to be anointed in 1433, and died a few years afterwards in the active discharge of his apostolic duties.

Gabriele Condolmero had meanwhile ascended the apostolic chair under the title of EUGENIUS IV; but the superstitious minds of the Romans were so influenced by some untoward events that they prophesied great evils for his reign. An eclipse of the sun had occurred at the time of MARTIN V death; at the first Consistory held by EUGENIUS IV the flooring gave way

beneath the great throng assembled in the hall, and in the confusion a Bishop was thrown down and trampled to death by those endeavouring to escape. This event was followed by even greater misfortunes. A Franciscan friar spread the report that MARTIN V had left considerable wealth, and the Colonna immediately rushed to assert their family rights to this supposed succession. Blood flowed in the streets; Stephen Colonna was forced to leave the city; but the friar, chief author of the riot, having been taken, was convicted of plotting against the life of the Pope, and of seeking to deliver the Castle of S. Angelo into the hands of the Colonna. He was condemned to be quartered, and his mutilated remains were exposed to the four cardinal points of the town. (1)

In the course of 1433 the Emperor Sigismund came to Rome to receive the imperial crown. As the Pope and the Council of Basle were now becoming embittered against one another, EUGENIUS IV was pleased to see this act of deference from a Prince who had hitherto appeared inclined to give his protection to the unreasonable views of the Council. But, in order to secure his safety, Eugenius exacted that the Emperor should only bring to Rome his personal attendants, and that in his suite there should be no enemy of the Church, the Pope, or of the Roman people. These conditions having been accepted, Sigismund's entry was accompanied by the greatest pomp

(1) According to Monstrelet this friar, whom he calls *Le Petit*, hoped to seize the Castle of S. Angelo by sending twelve cases into it each containing a man.

and enthusiasm. The talents of the illustrious sculptor Donatello and of Simon, his brother, were utilized for the decorations of this festival; and it is said that the creator of Judith gained great renown and high honour on this occasion. (1)

Sigismund's departure was followed by fresh troubles for Rome and for Italy in general. Rome was threatened by the armies of Philip, duke of Milan, who had thought fit to constitute himself agent of the Conventicle of Basle against EUGENIUS IV. Having been defeated at Tivoli he found unexpected assistance from the Ghibellines at Rome, who had suddenly revolted against the Pope, and were besieging him in his palace of the SS. Apostoli. Eugenius was fortunate in escaping disguised as a monk. Subsequently, having embarked on the Tiber, he with difficulty avoided those who pursued him, and took refuge at Florence. Rome was then given up to disorder; the pontifical palace was pillaged; new officers replaced those magistrates elected by the Pope, and only the garrison of the Castle of S. Angelo remained unshaken in fidelity to the Pope. For five months this garrison resisted both bribery and the engines of war. At the end of that period Rome, weary of anarchy, requested the restoration of Papal authority. The History of the Popes, by the Protestant writer Ranke, describes the condition of Rome when Eugenius returned. He says:—"In 1443 the city had become a retreat for shepherds; her citizens could not be distinguished from the peasants and labourers of the neighbourhood. Her

(1) "Si acquistò fama e onore grandissimo". Vasari.

hills were deserted; there was no pavement in her narrow streets, which were darkened by projecting balconies and beams, which stretching across the road from house to house gave them mutual support. Beasts wandered through the town as over pasture-land. From S. Silvestro to the Porta del Popolo it was either all garden or marsh-land frequented by wild geese. Even the memory of antiquity was no more; the Capitol was known as the Hill of goats, the Forum, as the Field of cows". This was what Rome had become after Totila; what she was during the exile at Avignon, during the schism of Basle; what she seemed fated to become when without the Popes! Before re-entering Rome, Eugenius sent legates before him, armed with full powers to restore order in the city, but remained himself in Northern Italy where important affairs detained him. The prelates assembled at Basle had abandoned him, and Eugenius resolved to oppose their decrees by those of a legitimate Council, which should honestly strive with him to reform abuses and bring about the long wished for union of the Greek and Latin Churches. This Council assembled at Ferrara in the month of January 1438; and the presence of the Eastern Emperor, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Bishops of those Churches famous in Christian antiquity, Nicæa, Nicomedia, Ephesus, Trebizond, and others, was hailed with joy. A sincere desire for reunion filled every heart, and, on the 6<sup>th</sup> of July 1449, it was at length proclaimed at Florence amid the acclamations of the whole of Christendom.

This happiness was but short-lived; the Greek

bishops on their return to the East encountered the fiercest opposition from long established popular prejudices. They were avoided like renegades; it was even said that they had sold their consciences for gold. Frightened at their isolation these prelates at last yielded to the storm. Among those who remained faithful must be mentioned the illustrious Archbishop of Nicæa, Bessarion. EUGENIUS IV only returned to Rome in 1444, where he continued his efforts to restore unity to the Church. The Jacobites, the Maronites of Mt. Lebanon, the Armenians, and all the heretical sects of Syria successively came to pay homage to the chief of the Christian church. During this period the prelates at Basle were obstinately bent upon troubling Europe by vain attempts at revolt. They had deposed EUGENIUS IV, and had elected Amadeo of Savoy in his stead. Fortunately this intrusion was neither stable nor lasting. Eight years after usurping the tiara Felix had only Switzerland and Savoy under his obedience; and, on his death-bed, EUGENIUS IV had the consolation of receiving an act of submission from the last fomenters of the schism. (1) He at once ordered a public thanksgiving; Rome resounded with bell ringing, and all the clergy joined in a solemn procession from the church of S. Mark to the Lateran Basilica. The head of S. John the Baptist and the mitre of S. Sylvester were borne by the clergy, while the crowd devoutly followed these holy relics.

A few days later EUGENIUS, feeling that his end

(1) As for the anti-Pope he only submitted under Nicholas V with a small number of prelates attached to his person.



was approaching, summoned the Cardinals, and thus addressed them:— "Venerable and beloved brethren, the day approaches when we must die. Why should we murmur? We have lived long and honoured. May God forgive the faults we have committed in the government of the Church, may He look rather at the intention than at the results. The pontificate came to us, if not unexpectedly, yet without our having anxiously sought for it; and though troubles have befallen us we do not on that account think we are displeasing to God, for whom He loveth He chastiseth. But as time is passing away, and but few moments remain to us, we leave to you the testament of the Lord Jesus Christ when He said to His Apostles: My peace I leave with you. We have created all of you Cardinals, excepting one, and him we have loved as a son . . . . We beseech you, beloved, keep the bond of peace. Soon the pontifical seat will be empty; you know what man claims this throne. Select one who surpasses us in doctrine and virtue. Believe us, it will be better to cast your votes for an insignificant man, if he be pleasing to all, than upon a greater man, if thereby you bring dissension among you. Where peace is, there is also the spirit of God. Finally, in order that after our death you may not dispute about our obsequies, do nothing but what is prescribed in the pontificale. Let no one undertake more, or add anything to the funeral ornaments. Let there be neither pomp nor vain glory at our burial. We wish to be humbly laid beside EUGENIUS III; should anyone place obstacles in the way, let him be anathema."

After this speech Eugenius received the last sacraments from the hands of S. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, and soon closed his eyes for ever. This Pontiff was possessed of very noble qualities. His firm resistance to the usurpations of the Council of Basle, his zeal for the increase and honour of the Church, his love of science, his inexhaustible charity, stamp his memory with a character for greatness which cannot be obliterated by the calumnies of which he was the object. It may be that his ever vigilant attention to the interests of Christendom made him sometimes neglectful of the civil administration of Rome, which thus fell into the hands of a nephew ambitious for riches and pleasures; nevertheless Rome owes many of the beautiful works we still admire to his fostering care.

The great bronze door of S. Peter's was ordered by him. Eugenius determined to obtain for the Basilica a masterpiece, equal, if possible, to the famous gates of the baptistery of Florence. Unfortunately the work was not given to the great masters of the period — Ghiberti, Brunelleschi, Donatello — but to two unknown artists, Simone and Philarete, who, after labouring for twelve years, only succeeded in producing a composition imperfect alike in design and execution. The different compartments of this door, cast in bronze, represented in relief the noble figures of the Saviour, the Virgin, SS. Peter and Paul, and several events in their lives. Eugenius IV was portrayed kneeling at the feet of S. Peter. But amid these pious designs a grotesque one appeared, Philarete and Simone being represented, surrounded by their

pupils, going for a jaunt into the country, preceded by an ass bearing refreshments, and jumbled up with these were Jupiter and Leda, Ganymede and his eagle! Unfortunately examples of this strange and sad medley have too frequently been repeated; for the mission of art was no longer to represent divine ideals, but to amuse by quaint devices.

Eugenius IV completed the works his predecessor began at S. John Lateran; he also repaired several Christian monuments at Rome. From his pontificate dates the church of S. Onofrio, founded by the Blessed Nicolò di Forca Palena, who had entered a retreat on the Janiculum with several serious men. The architecture of this church offers nothing remarkable; yet the poet and pilgrim will always visit it with pious respect, for it contains the tombs of a saint and of a man distinguished by his misfortunes and genius; Blessed Nicolò, and Tasso.

So great a development of the fine arts took place in the fifteenth century that soon it was not only in the construction of buildings, the delicate colouring of paintings, or in the modelling of statuary that talent was displayed; even sacerdotal vestments became objects of art of the greatest value. Thus Lorenzo Ghiberti presented Martin V with a gold clasp for his cope, so delicately worked, and exquisitely finished in relief, that the beholder forgot to admire the brilliant jewels with which it was encrusted. (1) The same artist had also made for Martin V a

(1) *Fece d'oro a papa Martino, un bottone ch'egli teneva nel piviale, con figure tonde di rilievo e fra esse gioje di grandissimo prezzo, cosa molto eccellente. "Vita di Ghiberti."*

mitre composed of perforated gold leaves upon which disported a great number of small figures of most graceful design. (1) Eugenius IV was so delighted with it that he also wished to have a mitre made by Ghiberti. Ghiberti immediately set to work, and soon afterwards presented the Pontiff with a gold mitre weighing fifteen pounds, laden with pearls to the weight of five pounds and a half, some of which were as large as filberts, and supposed to be worth 38,000 gold ducats. The setting of this mitre was composed of a chain of children whose attitudes were in harmony with the many details of this lovely design.

This progress in art, as well as in science and literature, received a fresh impulse from the active genius of NICHOLAS V. He was the son of a Sarzana physician, and had been raised to the cardinalate by Eugenius IV on account of his piety, learning, and the marked services he had rendered the Apostolic See on the occasion of the schism of Basle. Moreover, his modesty had never allowed him to aspire to honours, which, however, sought him out. Cardinals more powerful had been designated by public opinion for the throne. Above all the name of Prospero Colonna was in every mouth; in fact, as soon as the Conclave had assembled in the Dominican monastery of S. Maria-della-Minerva, the greater number of votes were given to Colonna. Only one more vote was wanted to secure his election. Thomas of Sarzana,

(1) Una mitra maravigliosissima di fogliami d'oro straforati e in essi molte figure piccole tutti tonde che furono tenute bellissime.

who did not yet bear the name of Nicholas, had already expressed his intention of recording his vote for Colonna, when the Cardinal of S. Sisto suddenly rose up exclaiming, as he addressed Thomas, "And I make you Pope, for your feast is to-morrow." In fact the next day, 7<sup>th</sup> of March, the festival of S. Thomas Aquinas was celebrated. This exclamation was taken by all the Cardinals as the expression of God's will, and, throwing themselves at the feet of the humble Bishop, they proclaimed him Pontiff.

A contemporary historian, recently published, makes no mention, it is true, of this incident: nevertheless he looks upon it as a miracle that Nicholas V should have been, in eighteen months, created Bishop, Cardinal, and Pope, on the strength of his merit alone. "Could one have believed," adds he, "that a priest only fit for bell-ringing (*da suonare campane*) should be elected Pontiff?"

The Roman populace used to pillage the residence of a Cardinal when he was elected Pope, so, the report having gone abroad that Colonna was chosen, the palace of this rich Cardinal was sacked; and, on discovering their mistake, they treated the house of Thomas of Sarzana in a similar manner, "but this time, however, there was small booty," observes Æneas Sylvius, adding, "it is an advantage to the poor that they have very little to lose."

One of the first acts of Nicholas V was the proclamation of a Jubilee for the year 1450. Throwing open the Porta Santa in the Roman Basilicas took

place on Christmas Eve 1449 (1), and thousands of pilgrims immediately hastened to Rome, where this time they found, thanks to the fatherly forethought of the Pope, ample provisions at moderate prices. These eager multitudes crowding the bridges and churches led to regrettable accidents, and many persons were suffocated. On one day there were such masses of people that it caused a panic on the Bridge of S. Angelo, ninety-seven persons being in consequence pushed into the Tiber. (2)

The festivities of the Jubilee in 1450 were enhanced by the canonization of S. Bernardine of Siena, which was celebrated with great pomp.

The year following, 1451, Frederick III descended upon Italy with the intention of obtaining, according to ancient custom, the imperial crown from the Pontiff. Frederick brought with him neither troops nor warlike instruments; but the brilliant suite of Princes who accompanied him, and particularly the presence of young Ladislas, King of Hungary, shed unusual lustre on his journey. Nicholas V had too vivid a recollection of what these imperial visits had cost Rome not to feel alarmed. They had often resulted

(1) Four Basilicas have a Porta Santa, they are:— S. John Lateran, S. Peter at the Vatican, S. Maria-Maggiore, and S. Paul on the Ostian way. The Porta Santa is at the extremity of the façades on the Epistle side. It is usually walled up and marked with a cross; its solemn opening announces the beginning of a Jubilee.

(2) This panic was caused by a mule. Nicholas V constructed two small churches at the foot of the bridge to receive the bodies of the drowned; at the same time he ordered the destruction of some houses which blocked the passage.

in complaints and mutiny against pontifical authority. The restless spirit of the Romans had sometimes profited by the presence of the Germans to demand fresh liberties, and to constitute the Emperor judge between the Pope and the people. In order to guard against this event, the Pontiffs were in the habit of not permitting German Princes to receive their crown until a treaty had been signed whereby all the rights of the Apostolic See and of the Church were jealously safeguarded. But Nicholas V did not confine himself to the accustomed precautions; he summoned the famous architect Bernardo Rossellini to Rome, and ordered him to repair the city walls, to flank them with bastions, and to add fresh fortifications to the Castle of S. Angelo. When these works were completed, Nicholas garrisoned them with chosen troops, and then fearlessly awaited the Emperor's arrival. Frederick entered Rome on the 9<sup>th</sup> of March, walking beneath a magnificent canopy, surrounded by Cardinals, clergy, and magistrates who had gone forth to meet him. A naked sword was borne before him, emblematic of power; and when he reached the Pope, whose ivory throne had been placed beneath S. Peter's portico, he presented him, according to custom, with a mace of gold. On the day of his unction, Frederick put on an alb, and was made a Canon of S. Peter's; then the Pope placed the crown of Charlemagne upon his head, giving him the mantle, sceptre, and sword of that great Emperor, all of which had been brought from Nuremburg for that purpose. On leaving the church, Frederick acted as the Pope's equerry as far as S. Maria-Traspontina,

The learned author of the "*Memorie Colonnese*" informs us, on the other hand, that on entering Rome the German prince had shewn little respect for the Cardinals, reserving all his civilities for the senator. The Abbé Coppi alleges that, later on, he committed an outrageous act in sanctioning the right of the Colonna, who were the leaders of the Ghibelline faction, to coin money of any value and of any metal, a right they claimed in virtue of a concession made to them by Louis of Bavaria.

Besides these noisy ceremonial visits, which caused much anxiety to the papacy, others took place, more humble and unnoticed indeed, but no less illustrious; visits, too, which brought only consolation and hope to the Pontiffs. We have already seen S. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, beside the death-bed of Eugenius IV. Nicholas V wished to keep him at Rome; but the pious Archbishop requested, as a favour, permission to return to his flock. His heart was full of love, gentleness, and charity; his life was devoted to the service of the poor, the plague-stricken, and the ignorant. Historians have said of him, "His graceful speech charmed some; the depth of his learning overpowered others." Antoninus occupied his spare time by writing on theology and history. "To serve God is to reign", was his favourite expression. Nicholas V once said, "We would canonize him living." At Rome the memory of S. Antoninus dwells particularly at the Dominican monastery della Minerva, of which he had been prior in his youth.

About the same period the monastery of Aracœli was the abode of another champion of charity, who



was, above all, remarkable for great energy. Jean de Capistran was the son of an Angevin gentleman who had followed Louis of Anjou to the conquest of Naples, and had married at Capistrano, in the Abruzzi. John began life in the magistracy at Perugia, where he made a rich alliance, but, having been imprisoned on account of his devotion to Ladislas, and the death of his wife adding to his sorrows, he consecrated the remainder of his days to religion. The Franciscans of Perugia subjected his vocation to the most humiliating tests without being able to weaken his determination. His faith was of that zealous kind which pursues its end with indomitable vigour. The severity of the rules did not satisfy his love of mortification, and he brought about a reform in the Order of S. Francis. At the same time he used every effort to extinguish heresy. The Fraticelli, who infested the neighbourhood of Rome, were either dispersed or converted; and the untiring apostle, taking S. Bernardine of Siena for his model, traversed Italy preaching the Gospel, reconciling families, quelling seditions, and practising acts of piety and mercy. Eugenius IV bestowed the monastery of Araceli upon him for the establishment of the Franciscans of the strict observance. The Pope also constantly made use of his talents and virtue in his negotiations. Thus the austere Franciscan was seen by turns bringing the weight of his eloquence to bear as a theologian at the Council of Ferrara, or as an ambassador at the courts of the Dukes of Milan and Burgundy, or of the Kings of France and Sicily. He assumed neither pomp nor splendour on these important diplomatic

missions; he would set out from his cell at Aracœli on foot, staff in hand, with no other badge but his habit and breviary, and arrive thus at the palaces of Kings. By his preaching in Germany he converted four thousand Hussites, and still greater successes would have accompanied his efforts had not the cry of the Christian nations, threatened by the Turks, called him to the seat of war.

Constantinople had now fallen into the power of Mahomet II. Only two men still held out in the ancient land of the Hellenes, Huniades in the north, and Scanderbeg in the west; their self-devotion and bravery formed the last bulwarks of Christendom against a terrible invasion. It was then that John of Capistran raised the holy cry of a crusade; he instilled courage into the most cowardly, and, joining Huniades, by main force he broke through the Turkish lines and flung himself into Belgrade then besieged by a vast army. The walls of Belgrade were shattered, twenty times ladders were placed for the assault; but Huniades and Capistran were ever in the breach, the saint bearing a crucifix, which sign of civilisation became also the signal of victory.

When at length the Turks withdrew, Huniades was seized with a burning fever which rapidly undermined his strength; John of Capistran watched by his bedside and spoke to him of heaven. When the aged warrior was told that the Viaticum was to be brought to him, he would not permit it to enter his house; "it is the servant's duty to go to meet his Master", he said, and, supported by his friends, he went to the church. A few days afterwards John of

Capistran delivered a funeral oration over the hero's body; then he himself fell sick and died at the age of seventy-one. He was canonized by Alexander VII.

The fall of Constantinople was one of the greatest disasters of the fifteenth century. The miserable Grecian empire disappeared as it had lived amidst anarchy and dissension. At the very time Mahomet was preparing to besiege the city there was an outbreak at S. Sophia against the Roman liturgy, as a protest against reunion. Powerless to defend herself, the Greek Church none the less obstinately rejected the friendly hand which the Latin Church held out to help her. As though by prophetic instinct, in 1451, Nicholas V foretold the coming catastrophe to Constantine XV, the last of the Eastern Emperors. Paraphrasing the parable in the Gospel, he wrote to him as follows:— "Every barren fig-tree should be cut down and cast into the fire; thus will it also be with the Greek nation, if, within three years, it has not ceased tempting divine justice." Three years later Constantinople fell, and one of the two Christian powers which alone attempted to save her was that of Nicholas V.

The exiled Greeks took refuge throughout the length and breadth of Italy, bringing with them their manuscripts and books, undying evidence of their former glory. Everywhere they were warmly welcomed, with that respect due to a great name and great misfortunes. Two Florentine citizens, Nicolò Nicoli and Cosimo di Medici, opened their palaces and purses for their benefit. The same generous

reception awaited them at the papal court, and at the hands of their illustrious countryman, Bessarion, who was Abbot of Grotta-Ferrata and Cardinal. But Nicholas V did not confine himself to these impotent marks of sympathy. By his preaching, through his legates, and by his letters, he sought to rouse the whole of Europe against the infidels. Unfortunately he only met with apathy; the sacred fire of the Crusaders no longer burned in Christian hearts. Nevertheless an army was gathering to march against the enemy when Nicholas died, and the splendour of these fine troops served but to enhance the magnificent pomp of his funeral.

During the pontificate of Nicholas V Rome did not experience any of her accustomed riots. For a short while she had to fear the secret machinations of a noble named Stefano Porcaro; but this conspirator was first exiled to Bologna, then arrested in Rome, whither he had succeeded in returning, and finally hanged from the battlements of the Castle of S. Angelo. Porcaro's design had been to stir up the people to rebellion on the Feast of the Epiphany, during High Mass which the Pope was to celebrate at S. Paolo. He had hoped then to be able to seize the Pope, and had prepared a golden chain wherewith to bind him.

The character of Nicholas V is one of those that has the greatest claims on posterity. He united the love of all that was great with true Christian simplicity. Generous almost to profusion where genius was concerned, if he repaid by houses, domains, or bags of gold ducats, a translation of Strabo or

Homer, (1) none the less were his hands equally open to the poor and afflicted. "With him one good deed never hindered another", Rohrbacher has happily said of him.

No Prince in Europe had a court like his: there might be met the historians Manetti, Bruni d'Arezzo, Poggio, who had not yet written his immoral "*Facetiæ*"; the grammarians Guarini di Verona, Giovanni Aurispa, Teodoro di Gaza; then Valla, Filelfo, George of Trebizond, the architect Rossellini, the great engineer Alberti, and Fra Angelico da Fiesole.

Besides these men of science and art, many of whom were also distinguished by their eminent virtues, were poor monks whom the Pope summoned to his palace in order that he might be reminded of holy cloister life. His happiest moments were those spent in their company. One day he said to them:— "We know not if there be in the world a more unhappy man than we are." One of the miseries of which he complained was that no one spoke quite openly to him. "Ah! if we could do so with honour, how gladly would we become again Maestro Tomaso di Sarzana! We found far greater contentment then in one day, than we now find in a year."

(1) Nicholas V had promised 5,000 ducats to anyone who should bring him a Hebrew translation of the Gospel of S. Matthew. He gave 500 gold crowns to Lorenzo Valla for his translation of Thucydides, 1500 crowns to Guarini for a rendering of Strabo, 500 ducats to Perrotti for his version of Polybius. He had promised to Filelfo a house in Rome, a country seat, and 10,000 gold crowns, for a translation of the Odyssey and the Iliad, etc.

With literati he spoke equally well on either science or literature. Accustomed from his childhood to work, having spent many long days at transcribing manuscripts, Nicholas was a stranger to no branch of human knowledge; he was able to advise writers, teach philosophers, and Vasari assures us that even artists found in him a guide full of good taste and experience. (1)

Let us hear what Macaulay, Rector of the University of Glasgow, said when celebrating the foundation of that University by Nicholas V. "At this conjuncture, a conjuncture of unrivalled interest in the history of letters, a man, never to be mentioned without reverence by every lover of letters, held the highest place in Europe. Our just attachment to that Protestant faith, to which our country owes so much, must not prevent us from paying the tribute which, on this occasion, and in this place, justice and gratitude demand, to the founder of the University of Glasgow, the greatest of the restorers of learning, Pope Nicholas the Fifth. He had sprung from the common people; but his abilities and his erudition had early attracted the notice of the great. He had studied much and travelled far. He had visited Britain, which, in wealth and refinement, was to his native Tuscany what the back settlements of America are now to Britain. He had lived with the merchant princes of Florence, those men who first ennobled trade by making trade the ally of philosophy, of eloquence, and of taste. It was he, who, under the

(1) "Non meno guidava et reggeva gli artisti, ch'eglino lui."

protection of the munificent and discerning Cosmo, arranged the first public library that Modern Europe possessed. From privacy your founder rose to a throne; but on the throne he never forgot the studies which had been his delight in privacy. He was the centre of an illustrious group, composed partly of the first great scholars of Italy, Theodore Gaza, and George of Trebizond, Bessarion and Filelfo, Marsilio Ficino and Poggio Bracciolini. By him was founded the Vatican Library, then and long after the most precious and the most extensive collection of books in the world, etc." (1)

But what distinguished Nicholas V from a great number of pontiffs, who were equally renowned with him for their learning and liberality, was that, despite his love for works of art, he never sacrificed religious feeling to the requirements of style. The Roman States were indebted to him for a great number of monuments. At the same time that the fortresses of Orvieto, Civita-Castellana, and Narni were rising, sumptuous buildings were improving the appearance of Civita-Vecchia, and Rossellini was constructing baths at Viterbo which recalled those of ancient Rome by their magnificence and the number of their apartments.

Rossellini also restored the churches of S. Maria-trans-Tiberim, SS. Prassede, Teodoro, Pietro-in-Vincoli,

(1) *Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches*. Popular edition. Longmans and Co. We may add, however, that the Vatican Library was but an enlargement of the Lateran Library which dates from Pope S. Hilary.

Stefano, SS. Apostoli, Lorenzo, Giovanni Laterano, and S. Maria-Maggiore. The palace adjoining the last Basilica was completely restored. Moreover, both Pope and artist held that the Vatican itself should be thoroughly transformed. Nicholas V was the first Pope who entertained the idea of rebuilding S. Peter's; Rossellini submitted to him a vast and magnificent plan, the work was already begun, the pillars of the tribune were in fact already rising from the ground, when the death of Nicholas put a stop to the operations. The works at the palace were in like manner arrested. It is pleasant to read Vasari's description of the wonders this palace was to realize had God but spared the Pontiff's life. Rossellini would have first surrounded it with strong walls; within this enclosure were to be apartments for Cardinals, and for all the civil and ecclesiastic officials of the Roman Court, splendid halls for the reception of Princes, one in which Conclaves were to be held, and a vast amphitheatre for the coronation of the Popes. (1) Long colonnades furnished with shops, protected from the disease-laden air of the Campagna, were to serve as a communication between the Vatican and the Leonine City: while chapels, gardens, bubbling fountains, and aqueducts were to render the dwelling of the Pope a residence at once enchanting and majestic.

"What a magnificent spectacle the Roman church would then have presented", observes Vasari, "when

(1) This idea of an amphitheatre was carried out by Bramante; but it does not appear that it was ever made use of when the Popes were crowned.



its head, the sovereign Pontiff, would have been seen assembling around him all the ministers of God, as though in a noble and holy monastery! when these pious warriors would have been seen turning this spot into a veritable paradise by their heavenly and angelic lives, even warming the hearts of infidels with a love for the worship of the true God and the thrice blessed Jesus!"

Nicholas V augmented, it may even be said he founded, the Vatican Library by the precious collection of manuscripts which had either been copied or bought, regardless of price, from every country of the known world. Several of the ancient Roman aqueducts were restored by his orders, and limpid waters again appeared in the Piazza di Trevi, the source of which had formerly been pointed out to the soldiers of Agrippa by a young girl, whence came its pretty name of the Virgin's waters. (1)

But amid all these memories, all these names, which add to the renown of Nicholas V, there is one career, pure and heavenly, which demands our attention, all the more as it is that of a man who was at the same time one of the greatest artists of his day and a saint. Fra Angelico was born at Fiesole in 1347.

(1) Pliny assigns another reason for the name. According to him this water was called virgin on account of its proximity to the stream of Hercules, which it seemed to avoid. "Juxtâ est Hercules rivus, quem refugiens, virginis nomen obtinuit." It was the great Leone-Battista Alberti who restored the virgin fountain, and made it flow into the Piazza di Trevi. Later on we shall speak of the actual fountain which only dates from Clement XII.

"He might have lived comfortably in the world", says Vasari, "and in addition to his heritage might have amassed great wealth by his proficiency in the fine arts which he had cultivated from his youth upwards. But, being of a serious and pious disposition, he wished for his own satisfaction and peace of mind, and in order to prepare himself for eternity, to enter into the Order of Preaching Friars. Though it be possible to serve God in every walk of life, there are nevertheless some souls who find the monastery more beneficial for their salvation than life in the world." (1)

The habits of the cloister, far from damping the painter's genius in the humble monk, stamped him with an admirable spirit of mysticism. He illuminated the choir books of the monastery with figures taken from nature, sublime miniatures. Soon every abbey and church in Fiesole and Florence was to have an altar-piece painted by Fra Angelico, for no other artist possessed his gift of heavenly inspiration. He was wont to say:— "The fine arts require a peaceful and undisturbed existence; when one treats of the things of God, every thought should be absorbed in God." For many years he continued to paint, but confined himself to representing the actions of saints; and his works, which were always natural, reflected his deep piety. His saints bore an expression of

(1) His real name was Giovanni or John: but he is generally known as Angelico or Beato; Angelico, on account of the angelic expression given to his figures; Beato (Blessed), because of the holiness of his life. It does not, however, appear that he was beatified by the Church.

holiness, a resemblance to heavenly spirits, not to be found in any other master. (1)

Fra Angelico never took up his pencil until he had prayed; he never painted Jesus on the cross without weeping. Thus his days were spent in these marvellous works. S. Maria-Novella, l'Annunziata, S. Marco, S. Dominico di Fiesole were beautifully adorned with his paintings; and when the Archbishopric of Florence fell vacant Eugenius IV selected the holy artist to fill it.

"When Fra Angelico learned this", relates Vasari, "he begged his Holiness to make some other choice, because he felt himself unfitted to govern other people. He added that in his Order there was another friar to whom the dignity would be more suitable than to him. The Pope listened to his plea, and it was thus that S. Antoninus became Archbishop of Florence."

It was not only these lofty responsibilities, these honours so attractive in the eyes of the world, which terrified the humility of Fra Angelico; with equal care he avoided any prominent position in his monastery, or of accepting the titles of Prior, or even Procurator, though their sway was limited. He used to say that the only degradation he feared was that of Hell, the only dignity he sought was that of Heaven. (2)

(1) "I santi ch' egli dipinse hanno più aria e somiglianza di santi che quelli di qualunque altro."

(2) Of all Fra Angelico's virtues, Vasari spoke mostly of his gentleness; he says:— "Never was he seen out of temper; a thing almost incredible: 'Il chè e grandissima cosa e mi pare

This was a marvellous period when, even for art, inspiration always came from above, and no other was ever marked by more astonishing progress. These old masters were accustomed to write beneath their paintings such phrases as:— “Fecit ob suam devotionem” (1), or, “Pio sanctissimæ crucis affectu lubens fecit” (2), or, again “Orate pro pictore” (3), yet they were as illustrious for their genius as for their piety, and contrast strangely with Palma, who completed the last unfinished work of Titian, and proudly dedicated it to God as the sole being worthy of it. (4) Some of them invented new processes; others created schools; all united nobly in this successful new movement which was powerful in a very different way from that of the sixteenth century. Thus a charming “Adoration of the Magi”, by John of Bruges, a Christian painter from Flanders, revealed to Italy the art of painting in oils about 1450. Nearly at the same time the Italians discovered the rules of linear perspective, and soon afterwards those of the vanishing

*impossibile a credere.’’* MM. de Montalembert and Rio have described the works and virtues of Fra Angelico; but his life, published by M. E. Cartier, must be consulted to learn how thoroughly his mind was imbued with piety, and his works with heavenly beauty.

(1) Pietro di Lorenzo below a Madonna.

(2) Gentile Bellini.

(3) Fra Bartolomeo below his “Presentation in the Temple”.

(4) “Quod Titianus inchoatum reliquit, Palma reverenter absolvit, Deoque dicavit opus.” At the foot of the “Descent from the Cross”.

point: Melozzi has been styled the inventor of foreshortening; Leonardo da Vinci might well take credit as the discoverer of *chiar'oscuro*; and colouring, which until then had been confined to the "*tratteggiare*" of the old masters, attained, beneath the brushes of Fra Angelico, Perugino, Leonardo, and the monk of S. Marco, a freshness and charming limpidity mingled with a brilliancy which time itself has failed to dim.

Fra Angelico was summoned to Rome by Nicholas V who desired him to decorate a chapel at the Vatican. Therein he represented several scenes from the lives of SS. Laurence and Stephen, (1) and would not lay down his brush without once more painting the descent from the cross.

The Pope often conversed with the artist; he even invited him to his table; but one day, when that table was heavily laden with good things, the humble monk assisted at, though he did not participate in the papal meal; his prior had not dispensed him from observing the rules of his Order, and he forgot that he was dining with one who had absolute powers of dispensation. Vasari relates, "One could never sufficiently praise that holy father; his life was so exemplary, his love for the poor so keen, that I cannot doubt about his soul being now in Heaven."

(1) These paintings still exist and cannot be too much admired by those who appreciate the mysticism of Christian poetry. Fra Angelico, while at Rome, illuminated several choir books with those charming miniatures which Vasari described as being "*tanto bello che non si può dir più*".

The mortal remains of Fra Angelico sleep in the Dominican church of S. Maria-della-Minerva. The following four lines, composed by the great Pope Nicholas V, are inscribed upon his tomb.

Non mihi sit laudi quod eram velut alter Apelles,  
Sed quod lucra, tuis, omnia, Christe, dabam.  
Altera nam terris opera exstant, altera cælo;  
Urbs me Johannem flos tulit Etruriæ.

The church of the Minerva is one of the monuments of Rome to which the most glorious memories are attached. There is a Christ by Giotto, another by Michael Angelo, several paintings by Fra Angelico, the tombs of Leo X, Clement VII, Paul IV, the Blessed of Fiesole, and that of S. Catherine of Siena.





## CHAPTER XVI.

Chi fa cose di Christo, con Christo deve  
star sempre.

*Fra Angelico.*

### FIFTEENTH CENTURY

(CONTINUED).



NICHOLAS V successor was CALIXTUS III, who after reigning three years gave place to PIUS II. Both these Pontiffs were entirely occupied by the Turkish war, and by efforts to preserve that concord and union among Christian Princes which were indispensable to success. Calixtus was a Spaniard belonging to that Borgia family which by turns soared to the highest sanctity and sank to the abysses of crime. Pius II was the celebrated Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini who had been successively secretary to Cardinal Capranica, at the Council of Basle, to the Antipope Felix V, the Emperor Frederick III, and Pope Eugenius IV; he subsequently became Bishop of Trieste, Siena, and Cardinal. His talents as a poet, writer, and politician were renowned throughout the whole of Europe. But the opinions he had expressed at the Council of Basle concerning the authority of the Roman Pontiff were

not forgotten, and they seemed to debar him from ever obtaining the pontificate. Time and study, however, had brought experience, and had greatly modified his youthful opinions. "Rather believe me now that I am old than when I spoke as a youth", he wrote during his latter days, "pay greater attention to a sovereign Pontiff than to a private individual; renounce *Æneas Sylvius* and receive *Pius II.* (*Æneam rejicite, Pium recipite.*)"

During the new reign Rome witnessed a ceremony probably unparalleled in its splendour. A dethroned Prince arrived from the East bringing with him, as his only wealth, the head of S. Andrew, which he had succeeded in saving from the profanation of the Mussulmans. Respect for this holy relic was combined with the deep sorrow felt by Christendom at the daily encroaching tide of Islamism which threatened to overwhelm Europe.

When therefore Pius II bore the Apostle's head from the Milvian Bridge to S. Maria del Popolo, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of April 1462, and on the following day from S. Maria to S. Peter's, enthusiasm was general. Streets were strewn with flowers, houses were hung with woollen or silk tapestry; at various intervals altars were erected on which incense burned, while bands and choirs heralded the procession with religious melodies. Historians relate that more than 30,000 men carried candles, and that the head of the procession had already reached the Vatican ere the Pope left S. Maria. When at length he left the church, a baldacchino of gold cloth was borne over the relic by members of the Roman nobility; and, on reaching



the Piazza in front of S. Peter's, both Pontiff and people implored the Apostle's protection, striking their breasts and groaning. Only a small portion of the crowd could obtain places within the Basilica, which was brilliant with a thousand lights. The Pope gave the blessing with S. Andrew's head, and, before it was deposited in the Chapel of S. Gregory, Bessarion, and after him the Pope, gave glowing accounts of the sufferings endured by Christians in the East, and again appealed to Europe to take up arms for the Christian faith.

Two years later Pius II died at Ancona, just as he was about to sail with the Venetian fleet to fight against the Turks. Although old and infirm he had hoped to be able to encourage the Crusaders by his presence.

The Conclave for the election of his successor opened at the Vatican on the 28<sup>th</sup> of August 1464. Three great bodyguards ensured its safety, independence, and the strict observance of procedure. The first guard was composed of Bishops who were appointed to superintend the food, and prevent all communication from without; the second consisted of envoys from the powers, and the third of soldiers. The Mass of the Holy Spirit was celebrated in the Pauline Chapel, in the presence of the Cardinals vested with rochet and purple cape; when it was over, a gold chalice was placed on the altar to receive their votes. At the close of the third day a majority was declared in favour of Pietro Barbo, Cardinal of S. Marco, who took the name of PAUL II. "Being a Venetian", says M. Leo, "there was a touch of commercial roughness

about him." In these few words it is not difficult to detect a distant echo of the illwill of the Renaissance literati, whose pagan extravagancies were distasteful to Paul II. Among these were Pomponius Lætus and the literary association who used to assemble in his small house on the Quirinal. Pomponius had come to Rome so poor that his friend Platina remarked, "If he had lost two eggs he did not possess wherewithal to purchase two more." But love for the antique had now begun to mean a fortune, and visitors came to Pomponius to discuss science, and study the antiquities which he had collected. With their master these men formed themselves into an academy. Every member renounced his Christian name in order to become either a Callimachus, an Asclepiades, or a Glaucus, etc. It was no longer love of study; it became a passion, an idolatrous worship. Paul II was alarmed at these tendencies, which recalled too vividly those of the Medici association which had made timid efforts, on more than one occasion, to revive paganism. (1) Mythological memories, moreover, allied themselves to republican notions, and sowed seeds of unhealthy excitement in the public mind; consequently the academy was ordered to disperse, while some of its members were arrested. (2) Henceforth, in the opinion

(1) A pagan ritual was even discovered bearing the name of Georgius Gemistus or Georgius Pletho, who was one of the members of this Academy. It was particularly the theology of Orpheus which they sought to restore. See Audin's "Hist. de Léon X", tom. I, p. 94.

(2) Il Commendatore di Rossi discovered some inscriptions in the Catacombs which give reason to believe that the Academy

of literati, Paul II became a mere merchant and ignoramus. Nevertheless the Pope studiously read ancient authors, was generous to professors and poor students, and Rome was indebted to him for a college for clerks whose duty it was to revise all acts published in Latin.

As a Prince, Paul II managed by his firmness to put down the power of some of the petty tyrants who too frequently committed the most abominable cruelties in the neighbourhood of Rome; he moreover stamped out family feuds which had become extremely numerous.

Since the days of Martin V the pontifical government appeared to have taken root among the customs of the Roman people. Seditions were less frequent, the demands of the municipal officers less hostile; a stable and paternal government, as in the case of most administrations which have any chance of duration, obliterated traces of former struggles, while the development of the fine arts produced new monuments and masterpieces beside the ancient ruins.

It was during Paul II pontificate that the palace and church of S. Marco were constructed by Giuliano di Majano. Paul II, being a Venetian, had borne the title of S. Marco when Cardinal; these works may therefore be taken as a token of his respect for the patron saint of Venice. But then unfortunately began a systematic destruction of ancient monuments in

of Pomponius sometimes met in these unknown retreats. Pomponius is therein described as Pontifex Maximus, a sufficient justification for the Pope's suspicions.

order to obtain stone for building purposes. Giuliano di Majano, when constructing the palace of S. Marco, made use of the travertine employed as buttresses to the foundations of the Coliseum on the side facing Villa Mattei. We shall soon see Baldassare Peruzzi mutilating the theatre of Marcellus in order to convert it into a stately mansion; even Sixtus V removed the last traces of the Septizonium to utilize them in the construction of S. Peter's. (1)

The palace built by Giuliano di Majano is remarkable among Roman monuments for its peculiar architecture; from the battlements which crown its massive walls, it might be taken for a citadel, an appearance very appropriate to the Lion of S. Mark by its majesty and strength. (2)

Towards the end of 1466, the Emperor Frederick III came on a pilgrimage to the tombs of the Apostles. Frederick entered Rome on Christmas Eve, as matins were being sung in the Vatican Basilica. He was led to the foot of the altar by two Cardinal-deacons; Paul II blessed his sword, according to custom, after

- (1) . . . Tuus hic populus muris defossa vetustis,  
Calcis in obsequium marmora dura coquit.  
Impia ter centum si sic gens egerit annos,  
Nullum huic indicium nobilitatis erit.

It is astonishing what a number of monuments have been built with fragments of the Coliseum. A few may be cited: the Palazzo Venezia, Palazzo Farnese, the façade and the cupola of S. Agostino, the port of Ripetta, etc.

- (2) This palace, now occupied by the Austrian ambassador, still bears the name of Venezia. Pope Pius IV gave it to the Republic.

which the Prince was vested in an alb and tunic in order to read the Gospel of the seventh lesson. At the third Mass on Christmas Day the Prince communicated, receiving half the Host, and, after the ceremony, the Veronica was exposed for veneration. (1)

Several other Princes came to Rome about this period; some, like Borso d'Este, upon whom the Pope had just conferred the title of duke of Ferrara, in the height of prosperity, others as suppliants in misfortune, like Scanderbeg, the illustrious Prince of Albania.

Borso entered through the Flaminian Gate attended by an immense train of gentlemen, one hundred and thirty-eight baggage mules, caparisoned with velvet emblazoned with the armorial bearings of the house of Este. Accustomed as Rome was to grand shows she now had something to wonder at; according to chroniclers. Borso was a natural son of Hercules d'Este, and all the pomp and magnificence of this upstart Prince ill contrasted with the unnoticed arrival of the friendless Scanderbeg, the Christian hero of the East. But, although he came as a suppliant, Scanderbeg nobly resolved upon giving back to Europe more than he received from her. For twenty years his name had been a terror to Moslems; while all yielded, he alone still faced the foe, and the renown of his great courage led to his being considered a mysterious being, endowed with supernatural powers. But a day had come when great multitudes of the

(1) The holy handkerchief on which the face of Jesus Christ remained impressed is called Veronica from a Greek word meaning "true picture".

sons of Omar had dared to approach his capital, and Christian valour had been overpowered by weight of numbers. It was then, at the age of sixty-one, that Scanderbeg came to Rome to ask for assistance from that Christendom which he had defended. Each year the Pope and the King of Hungary had subsidized him with a hundred thousand gold crowns; but on this occasion Paul II exhausted his treasury in favour of the gallant warrior. Scanderbeg soon set out, and once more drove the Turks from his dominions; this triumph was, however, soon followed by his death. By his will he bequeathed the guardianship of his son, and of Albania, to the Venetian Republic. It is said that the Turks, having opened his tomb, bore away his bones as a talisman of victory.

Paul II did not limit himself to granting pecuniary aid to the brave defenders of the Christian Faith. He sought to interest all the governments of Europe on their behalf, and his legates received orders to intervene everywhere for the purpose of restoring peace among the Princes, and uniting them in a common league. In spite of endless difficulties the Pope also succeeded in putting a stop to the divisions which disturbed Italy; and, by one great act, he ratified this general reconciliation. On Ascension Day of the year 1467 Paul celebrated a solemn Mass of thanksgiving at Rome, and at the Agnus Dei he admitted to the kiss of peace not only the Cardinals but also the ambassadors from all the powers. These first fruits were followed by some good results. The Venetians commissioned a considerable fleet which was joined by that of the King of Naples and twenty

pontifical galleys; under the command of Pietro Mocenigo the combined fleet swept the Archipelago, causing immense damage to the Turks.

SIXTUS IV was not less eager than his predecessor had been to maintain this holy war. In 1472 he fitted out a fleet of twenty five sails, which assembled at Ripa-Grande under the command of Cardinal Caraffa. Before weighing anchor the Cardinal celebrated High Mass in S. Peter's, after which the banners for the ships were blessed by the Pope, and returned to the officers appointed to defend them. The Pope then sailed down the Tiber and boarded the Admiral's ship; from her deck he blessed the whole fleet, at the same time granting them numerous indulgences. Caraffa soon united with the Venetian and Neapolitan squadrons, which still bore the flag of the illustrious Mocenigo. The results of this campaign were the capture of Adalia and Smyrna, for which Caraffa was received in triumph on his return to Rome. Twenty-five Turks followed him on richly caparisoned horses; then came twelve camels laden with spoils, numerous Moslem flags, and part of the chain that had closed the harbour of Adalia, and which was now hung up at S. Peter's door. These first successes were unfortunately not followed by any decisive victory. The allies did not act in union, and the Turks, regaining courage, devastated Friuli, threatened the Venetian possessions, and actually dared to besiege Rhodes. Pierre d'Aubusson was then Grand Master of the Knights of S. John, who defended themselves with desperate valour; ten thousand Turks were left on the field, and after three months of fruitless endeavours

the remnant of the Moslem Army abandoned the enterprise. The Grand Vizier then set sail for Italy with the intention of conquering the Kingdom of Naples. The first port he reached was Otranto which fell by assault after a stout resistance of seventeen days and nights. The Archbishop, who was old and infirm, went through the streets, holding up the cross and encouraging the inhabitants to remain steadfast in the Christian Faith. He was taken prisoner by the Turks and sawn asunder with a wooden saw. Eight hundred wretched prisoners were taken outside the town to a hill where they were slaughtered, and from that day it has borne no other name than Hill of the Martyrs. It is said that on that fatal day, 14<sup>th</sup> of August 1480, twelve thousand of the inhabitants lost either their liberty or their lives.

The news of this disaster came like a shock to Italy; indescribable fear filled all hearts, and for one moment, Sixtus IV thought of quitting Rome; but a noble reaction soon followed, and the Pope implored all Kings and Princes to unite in the defence, and, setting an example himself, he sent twenty-four ships to sea. The appearance of this fleet in the Adriatic sufficed to alarm the Turks, who hastily fled in order to ensure the safety of their booty and their slaves.

Sixtus IV had succeeded Paul II in 1471; his family name was Francesco d'Albezuola della Rovere. He was a learned, modest, man who had spent many years of his life teaching in Italian Universities; the high dignity to which he was elevated made so slight a change in his studious and meditative habits that his palace might have been mistaken for a monastery.



But unfortunately he was wanting in firmness, and two of his nephews, Pietro and Girolamo Riario, grievously took advantage of his authority, and of the riches of the Church. Pietro Riario was a Franciscan, but, instead of practising the austere poverty of S. Francis, he indulged in reckless extravagance. No sooner was he raised to the Cardinalate than his palace became a meeting place for men of learning and pleasure; poets, doctors, and young worldlings. He used to describe himself as the foster-father of all honest men, and daily entertained at his table five hundred guests. This young man exhausted his life in two years, and it is said that Sixtus IV deeply mourned his death.

His other nephew, Girolamo Riario, had been made prefect of Rome, and was married to a natural daughter of the King of Naples. This alliance inflamed Girolamo's ambition, and he frequently directed the papal policy into crafty and self-interested channels, thus compromising the revered Pontiff's name in the eyes of several nations.

The brilliant side of Sixtus IV's pontificate was undoubtedly in connection with the fine arts. Sixtus possessed neither the refined taste nor critical spirit of Nicholas V; but he had a love for the beautiful, and painters, sculptors, and architects always received a warm welcome at his court. Baccio Pintelli, a Florentine, instigated all the Pope's artistic undertakings. It was he who united the quarter of the Campo di Fiore with the Janiculum by means of a strong viaduct called the Ponte Sisto; he rebuilt S. Maria-del-Popolo, S. Pietro-in-Montorio, the Hospital

of S. Spirito which had been destroyed by a terrible conflagration in 1471; he also enlarged the Vatican by a building for its Library, by the Sala Reale, and by the Sistine Chapel.

Sixtus IV desired that all the great artists of the period should compete in their various spheres in decorating this chapel. The silver-plate for the altar came from the workshop of Andrea del Verrochio, who was Leonardo da Vinci's first master; the walls were covered with paintings by Cosimo Rosselli, Domenico Ghirlandajo, Lucca Signorelli, Sandro Botticelli, the Abbot of S. Clemente, and Perugino. Several of the works of these artists were destroyed in the next century to make room for those of Michael Angelo. Thus above the altar, in the place now occupied by the immense fresco of the Last Judgment, was an Assumption by Perugino. Sixtus IV was therein represented kneeling at the feet of the Madonna. One may be allowed to regret, even while admiring the Florentine's bold design, the simpler, more devotional, and truer work of the painter of Perugia.

Perugino, who was born in Umbria, carried on the traditions of that Christian School of painting in all its purity and moderation. If he did not possess the deep feeling of Fra Angelico, at least his knowledge of all the technicalities of drawing was greater, while the calm repose of his figures happily harmonises with piety. (1)

(1) M. de Rumohr has admirably described the characteristics of the Umbrian School to which Perugino belonged in his "*Recherches Italiennes*".

Besides the Assumption, Perugino painted several scriptural scenes upon the Vatican walls. Among these were Moses in the Bulrushes, the Nativity of Jesus Christ, His Baptism, and the keys being given to S. Peter.

Among the artists who competed with Perugino in carrying out the wishes of Sixtus IV was a Camaldolese monk, Dom Bartolomeo della Gatta, Abbot of S. Clemente d'Arezzo. Two other Camaldolesi, Silvestro and Giacomo Fiorentino, had acquired a great reputation for their miniatures, some of which were carefully preserved at S. Peter's in Rome. Bartolomeo was renowned not only for his paintings, which were on a large scale, but also for miniatures with which he decorated antiphonaries and missals. One of these choir-books was considered to be so beautiful that it was presented to Sixtus IV.

Domenico Ghirlandajo, like Andrea del Verrochio and many other famous artists, had been a goldsmith in his youth. He even owes the surname by which he is known to a head ornament, in the shape of a garland, which he had designed, and which was much worn by Florentine damsels. But, after engraving in gold and silver, he took up the brush and started a school of painting. The Calling of the Apostles and the Resurrection of Jesus Christ were his principal paintings in the Sistine Chapel, but were inferior to his subsequent works.

Sandro Botticelli painted the Victory of Moses over the Egyptians, the Temptation of Our Lord in the Wilderness, Fire from Heaven descending upon the altar, at the prayer of Aaron's sons, and the

daughters of Jethro. According to M. Rio, this last was a charming group of girls "whose simple animated attitudes, long tresses of fair hair, and flowing white robes, so fascinated the attention of the beholder that he had little left for other parts of the painting." (1)

As to Cosimo Rosselli there is a professional anecdote told, the authority of which may well be doubted on beholding those works of his which still remain at the Vatican and at Florence. (2) It is said that, finding himself inferior to most of the painters who worked with him at the decoration of the Sistine Chapel, he determined to impose on the inexperienced eyes of the Pontiff by the brilliancy of his colouring, and thus obtain the reward promised to the most successful. The bright tints, ultramarine, vermilion, and particularly gold, were lavishly laid on without regard to rule or measure. Not a wave of the sea that was engulfing Pharaoh, not a cloak or face in the multitude surrounding Jesus Christ on the shores of Lake Tiberias, that did not shine with dazzling splendour. This wealth of decoration was received with loud laughter by his fellow artists, but Sixtus IV fell into the trap laid for him by the astute Rosselli, to whom was awarded the prize, while

(1) Chapter V. M. Rio's book is well worth reading in order to obtain a knowledge of the works of the fifteenth century artists who decorated the Sistine Chapel.

(2) Vasari relates this anecdote. M. de Rumohr enters into much detail concerning Cosimo Rosselli, whose "peculiar and vigorous" touch gave him much in common with Domenico Ghirlandajo.

his brethren of the brush received orders to brighten up their effects with blue and gold.

Artists summoned by Sixtus IV never quitted Rome without a large sum of "danari" relates Vasari; while the Pontiff's generosity and munificence were imitated by Princes, nobles, and even merchants, for the fine arts were becoming more and more an indispensable luxury for the wealthy. Thus we find the King and Queen of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, rebuilding, at the hands of Baccio Pintelli, the church of S. Pietro-in-Montorio with regal splendour; while, at the same time, a merchant, Francesco Tornabuoni, called into requisition the great talents of Ghirlandajo and Verrochio to adorn his wife's tomb in the church of La Minerva. This unfortunate lady had died in child-birth, and Verrochio has most happily expressed in marble the first sorrows of the child echoing, as it were, the last sorrows of its mother.

The convent of S. Cosimato was rebuilt by order of Sixtus IV for the nuns of S. Clare, who had just been reformed by two holy Roman ladies whose family names have been lost in those they adopted on entering the cloister, the Blessed Teodora and the Blessed Serafina.

The foundation of the church of S. Maria-della-Pace dates also from the reign of Sixtus IV. On its site a church formerly stood dedicated to S. Andrew, the portico of which was adorned with an ancient statue of the Virgin. This statue, having been stabbed by a soldier who had lost money in gambling, shed drops of blood. Thereupon a solemn procession was made to the place of this miracle,

and Sixtus, who accompanied it, vowed to build a church on the spot under the invocation of Mary, in order to obtain peace for Europe and the Church through her intercession. The sudden death of Mahomet II seemed to crown his desires. Lithuania also returned to the Roman faith; Russia appeared inclined for reconciliation, and S. Maria-della-Pace was the result of his thanksgiving.

This church still remains; but its graceful façade was only raised in the seventeenth century during the pontificate of Alexander VII. Pilgrims still visit it in order to pray before the miraculous Virgin; artists frequent it to admire Raphael's Sibyl.

Sixtus IV formed the project of adding a vast monastery to S. Maria-della-Pace for the use of the Canons Regular of the Lateran; and, death having defeated his intention, it was again taken up by Cardinal Caraffa, who made use of the dawning talent of Bramante. The Canons of S. John Lateran formed a congregation which had for many years officiated in the Basilica of S. Salvatore. It was reckoned to be the most ancient religious community in Rome, and, as a fact, the Lateran clergy had lived in community since the fifth century. Congregations of Canons had subsequently increased under rules more or less severe, and the possession of the Lateran became an object of ambition to these different bodies. The Canons Regular even succeeded in inducing the people to rise in their favour on the death of Paul II, when, after a short fray, they had driven out the Canons Secular who occupied the Basilica. Sixtus IV thought it right to re-establish things as they had

been before this disturbance; but, in order to console the conquerors, who thereby had been deprived of their triumph, he bestowed S. Maria-della-Pace upon them with the title and privileges of Canons of the Lateran.

One of the circumstances which hastened the development of the fine arts at Rome was undoubtedly the more frequent return of the Jubilee. Paul II had recently conceded this great indulgence to each quarter of the century, and Sixtus IV had confirmed the Bull of his predecessor. At the time of the Jubilee, Rome justified her title of Capital of the world by the numbers of foreigners who crowded her streets; but she had to vindicate it as well in the estimation of pilgrims by the number of her churches and the splendour of their decorations. The years preceding the Jubilee were therefore devoted to works of reparation and construction. Not only were sanctuaries raised, but the public thoroughfares were put into good condition. In order to prevent a recurrence of those accidents which had been caused in 1450 by the narrowness of the Bridge of S. Angelo, Sixtus IV gave orders to construct across the Tiber the present bridge which bears his name. At the same time foreigners followed the example set by the Germans, at the end of the fourteenth century, by building national churches and hospitals for their pilgrims. S. Giacomo of the Spaniards and the large hospital adjoining it, generously founded by the good Bishop Paradinas, date from the fifteenth century. The churches and hospitals of S. Ambrose of the Lombards, S. Yves of the Bretons, S. Anthony of the

Portuguese, S. Jerome of the Slaves, S. John Baptist of the Genoese, Our Lady of Mount-Serrat of the Catalans, and S. Louis of the French, all owe their foundation to this same century. S. Yves of the Bretons marks the kind interest Cardinal Alain de Coëtivi took in his countrymen, and the holy veneration he had for one of Brittany's great saints. (1)

France had possessed a small church dedicated to S. Louis from the beginning of the fifteenth century; it stood in the Via della Valle, near the ruins of the ancient theatre of Pompey: but this chapel proving too small for the numerous French pilgrims it was exchanged under Sixtus IV for a vast Benedictine Priory near the Baths of Nero. It was on the site of this Priory that the construction of the sumptuous French church was immediately begun.

Pilgrims were received free for three days in their own national establishment, where they always found aid and protection amid the gathering of foreigners who crowded into Rome. The Jubilee of 1475 was not, however, so well attended as those which had preceded it, because of the wars which then devastated a great part of Europe. Among distinguished pilgrims were Ferdinand, King of Naples, Christian,

(1) Cardinal Coëtivi died at Rome, and was buried in S. Prassede. The church of S. Yves dates from 1455, and was made a parish church by Calixtus III in 1456. It possessed a hospital managed by a college of eight chaplains and a rector; the church and hospital together enjoyed a revenue of 7,000 Roman crowns. Before the erection of S. Yves, an oratory had stood on the same spot, known as the Oratorio della Scrofa, or the Sow; it had acquired this strange name from a neighbouring fountain.



King of Denmark, Queen Charlotte of Cyprus, and the King and the Queen of Bosnia. The Queens of Cyprus and Bosnia even settled at Rome, where they died. The Queen of Bosnia bequeathed her states to the Roman Church, with the proviso that they should revert to her son, who had embraced Mahometanism, if he returned to the Catholic Faith. (1)

It is related of the King of Denmark that he desired to address the Pope kneeling, and he would not advance to the adoration of the cross until every Cardinal had preceded him. Another King, Alfonso of Portugal, set out for Rome; but his subjects, fearing lest he might withdraw into a monastery, overtook him, and forced him to return and reign over them.

Barely had the holy year closed at Rome when that unfortunate city fell a prey to two scourges, one of which invariably followed the other; an inundation of the Tiber and the plague. It was then that Regiomontanus, a famous German scholar, died; he had been summoned by the Pope to correct the Paschal cycle of Dionysius the Lesser. The contagion became so virulent that Sixtus IV left Rome; but, before doing so, he instituted the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, in order to obtain through her intercession a cessation of all the troubles which then afflicted Rome and Christendom. Sixtus IV also instituted the feast of S. Joseph, which had until then only been observed in a few monasteries.

(1) The Queen of Bosnia's tomb may still be seen at Araceli.

Sixtus died at the Vatican on the 13<sup>th</sup> of August 1484. His blind affection for his family has been hurtful to his memory; otherwise he was a holy, humble, and learned man. He had been a professor in the most celebrated Italian universities for many years, and the crowds which attended his lectures were equally charmed by his ready eloquence and clear exposition. He enriched the Vatican Library with rare manuscripts collected by his orders from all parts of Europe; and it is said that he made it free to the public. (1) He placed it under the care of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew librarians, the chief of whom was Bartolomeo di Piadna, who has become renowned under the name of Platina.

On the recommendation of Cardinal Bessarion, Platina had been appointed apostolic préciwriter during the pontificate of Pius II. Being intimately connected with Pomponius Lætus, and a member of his Academy, he shared in his disgrace under Paul II, and was even twice sent to prison. But Sixtus IV proved more indulgent than his predecessor; he replaced Platina in his post, made him Vatican Librarian, and presented him with a house on the Quirinal. It was indeed at the request of this Pope that Platina wrote his lives of the Popes from the time of Jesus Christ; a work in which freedom of thought is not always united to perfect knowledge or scrupulous truthfulness.

(1) "Nam et ingenia undique conduxisti et Bibliothecam opulentissimam ære tuo impensaue publicasti." Ermolaus Barbarus apud Tiraboschi, B. I., tom. VI.

Platina was buried in S. Maria-Maggiore, where the following singular inscription might be read upon his tomb: — Whoever thou art, if kind, trouble not Platina or his bones; they lie here in a narrow space, and wish to be left alone. (1)

The death of Sixtus IV was followed by a violent reaction. For some time he had been at war with the Colonna, that powerful family which invariably supported the Ghibelline faction, and had lately allied itself with the King of Naples. The conflict broke out in Rome itself. Lorenzo Colonna, the protonotary, had seized upon Porta Maggiore, where he was attacked and made prisoner by the Families of Orsini, Crescenzi, and S. Croce. His palace of La Pilotta was sacked and burned, and a few days later he was beheaded in the public square. While his body was lying on the ground, near to S. Celso-in-Banchi, his mother suddenly arrived; she took up the mutilated head by the hair, and gave way to sorrowful imprecations. The impression produced by this scene was not yet effaced, and the populace were daily hearing of the fall of strongholds belonging to the Colonna, beneath the assaults of Girolamo Riario, when the death of Sixtus suddenly altered the aspect of affairs as well as the position of the chief actors. Girolamo was no longer nephew to a Pope; but the Colonna were always the Colonna. They flew to arms, broke into the Riario palace, which they pillaged and ruined; houses of the Genoese inhabitants were also plundered because the Riario family had ori-

(1) *Quisquis es, si pius, Platynam et sua ne vexes, angustè jacent et soli volunt esse.*

ginally come from Genoa, while an infuriated mob broke open the granary doors of S. Maria-Novella, where the Pope stored his corn.

The Colonna were not forgetful of their own interests. They took advantage of the disorder to seize the Castles of Cavarro, Capranica, and Marino. Girolamo Riario retired with his friends to his principalities of Forli and Imola; but there his cruelty and excesses soon caused a revolt in which he was killed. (1)

Sixtus IV was succeeded by Cardinal Cibò, who took the name of INNOCENT VIII. Innocent was only fifty-three years of age: perhaps his youth was not without reproach, but he was essentially gentle and good natured. He gave his first thoughts to the Turkish war, which was to prove an absorbing topic for future Pontiffs; but another war that aroused his anxiety broke out at the very gates of Rome. Naples groaned beneath the cruel tyranny of Ferdinand of Aragon; a sullen discontent fermented among

(1) Caterina Sforza, Girolamo Riario's widow, managed by her courage to retake Forli, and remained in possession of it until the invasion of Romagna by Cæsar Borgia, the son of Alexander VI. Even then she defended the town for six weeks, during which she never once went to bed. When the town was entered Caterina retired with twenty soldiers into the citadel; but, before they could close the portcullis, the enemy entered and took the intrepid lady prisoner. She was sent to Rome and shut up in the Castle of S. Angelo, where she would have died of grief had not a French knight, named d'Alègre, who had taken service under Borgia, boldly asked for her as a reward for his courage. They did not dare refuse this favour and Caterina was set free.

the upper classes, and even the Neapolitans had secret recourse to the Pope as their suzerain. Innocent took part with the oppressed, whereupon Ferdinand declared war. At first successful, he was afterwards defeated, and ended by negotiating; but no sooner was peace sworn to than he refused to abide by its clauses. He did even worse: he invited the Neapolitan barons, with whom he had been reconciled, to a dinner, at which they were strangled. Innocent then requested Charles VIII of France to assert his right to Naples, as being heir to the House of Anjou. Charles did not immediately accede to this invitation; but he did not forget it.

The only hopes entertained by the papacy against the Turks were centred in the invincible courage of the Knights of S. John at Rhodes, and in their Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson, whom Innocent honoured with the title of Shield of the Church and Liberator of Christendom. D'Aubusson now held an important hostage in the person of Zizim, brother and former rival of the reigning Sultan, Bajazet. Bajazet dreaded his brother's influence; so he redoubled his civilities to the Knights in order to prevent them setting Zizim at liberty. He sent the lance which had pierced the side of Jesus Christ, and the right hand of S. John Baptist, sacred spoils from the churches of Constantinople, to D'Aubusson.

D'Aubusson kept Zizim some time in France, and then handed him over to the Pope. Leonardo Cibò, the Pontiff's nephew, was sent to receive Zizim who was in charge of the knight of Blanchefort at Civita-Vecchia. The Cardinal of Angers also came to meet

and conduct him to the Vatican where he was to lodge. Zizim was remarkable for his fine physique and expressive countenance. He refused to kiss the Pope's feet; yet, none the less, Innocent treated him with distinction and kindness.

At the same time Innocent wished to express his gratitude to the Grand Master of Rhodes for the hostage he had placed in his hands; he therefore created him Cardinal-deacon of the title of S. Adrian. Pierre d'Aubusson then presented the Pontiff with the holy lance. Two Bishops were sent to Ancona to receive it on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1492; two Cardinals, legates a latere from the Holy Father, awaited it at Narni; while the Pope himself went beyond the Porta del Popolo to welcome it. The holy lance had been placed in a cristal case, and Innocent VIII solemnly bore it to S. Peter's.

Shortly before this, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1492, another venerable relic of the Passion had been discovered in the Basilica of S. Croce-in-Gerusalemme, while some repairs were being carried out by Cardinal Mendoza. Above the large arch of the Basilica was found a small niche carefully walled up. The workmen accidentally dropped the brick which concealed the opening, and behind it the following inscription was brought to light:— "Titulis Crucis", or "Title of the Cross". Within the niche lay a leaden box secured by three seals, and bearing the inscription:— "Ecce lignum Crucis", or, "Here is some wood of the Cross". The box was opened, and a worm eaten board taken out; this board measured something more than a foot in length, by nine inches

wide; it bore the letters, coarsely carved and stained red, of the famous inscription: *Jesus Nazarenus Rex*. This inscription was thrice repeated, in Hebrew, Greek, and in Latin; the Latin was the lowest of the three, and nearest to our Saviour's Head. Doubtless it had been carved by some Hebrew workman because the letters for all three languages ran, in the Hebrew manner, from right to left; several of the letters had decayed from time, particularly in the Hebraic line; but as a whole the inscription was perfectly distinct.

No sooner had the news of this discovery become known at Rome than a general concourse of people made their way to the Sessorian Basilica. Tidings having just arrived of the taking of Granada from the Moors made it appear as though the discovery of our Lord's title were a manifestation by Providence that Christ visibly associated himself with the triumphs of the Christian arms. Innocent celebrated the discovery of this relic by an imposing ceremony. The sacred wood was then replaced in its coffer and deposited in the church built by S. Helena.

These pious solemnities were the last joys of Innocent VIII; he had a stroke of apoplexy in 1490 and after two years of ill health died on the 25<sup>th</sup> of July 1492. His death, like that of Sixtus IV, became the signal for an outbreak of popular disturbance. He was charged with avarice (1); the houses of

(1) Vasari relates an anecdote which tends to show that avarice was not deeply rooted in this Pontiff's character. The distinguished artist Mantegna had for long worked at the Belvedere without receiving any mark of Innocent's generosity;

the wealthy were pillaged; magistrates fled from their tribunals; and lastly, when the Conclave had met in the Sistine Chapel, it was adjudged necessary to call in the aid of several companies of musketeers to the Vatican, and to plant cannon commanding every avenue leading to the palace, in order to prevent any attacks from banditti who swarmed in the town.

The Cardinals elected Roderigo Lenzuoli, Bishop of Valencia. On his mother's side Roderigo was nephew to Calixtus III, and he had assumed the family name of that Pontiff—Borgia. He was an ambitious man of easy virtue. Soldier before he was made Cardinal, he had openly lived with a Roman lady of great beauty, and their numerous offspring which always surrounded him attached indelible disgrace to his name. Yet this shame in no way shocked the Romans: the depraved morals of Italian feudalism, and the frequent succession of bastards to thrones, had prepared the populace for this illegitimate papal family which monopolised power. Borgia's election was celebrated by public rejoicings; tournaments were held in the Piazza of S. Peter's, and in the palace courtyard; and, when the Pope set out to take possession of S. John Lateran, streets were hung with tapestry, and even triumphal arches

he therefore painted Economy among the virtues with which he was decorating the palace. The Pope, not recognising the attributes of this figure, asked which virtue he was representing, and on the artist replying, "Economy", "Then paint Patience as well", said the Pope. When the work was completed Innocent liberally rewarded the clever artist.



and flattering devices, a most unusual thing, decked his path. (1)

The first acts of ALEXANDER VI promised well from their wisdom and moderation. With many vices he possessed high qualities, particularly firm resolve and profound genius. His administration was enlightened and energetic; he re-established public safety, personally inspected prisons, applied the law with great severity to evil doers, and even showed great interest in education by enlarging the Sapienza, and by summoning professors to teach there. But to these honourable tendencies of a lofty mind were united perfidious craftiness and depravity of heart, acquired in the society of lords and condottieri, which ought never to have disgraced S. Peter's Chair.

The first difficulties the Pontiff had to encounter came from France. Charles VIII, having resolved to conquer the kingdom of Naples, advanced as a victor: Pisa was taken, and the Florentines, after driving out the Medici because they wished to capitulate, ended by surrendering themselves. Some of the Cardinals and the Colonna invited the King of France to Rome; the Pope, however, still upheld the House

(1) The following were some of these devices:—

*"Cæsare magna fuit, nunc Roma est maxima; Sextus Regnat Alexander, ille vir, iste Deus."*

*"Alexandro invictissimo, Alexandro sapientissimo, Alexandro magnificentissimo, Alexandro in omnibus maximo, honor et gratia."*

And,—

*"Scit venisse suum patria grata Jovem."*

of Aragon, and even appealed to the Duke of Calabria to defend his capital. But, in face of the difficulties raised by the Colonna and Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, he found resistance vain. Even the Orsini sided with the French, and surrendered strongholds confided to their charge. Thus both events and men were antagonistic to Alexander VI. Meanwhile the French were rapidly approaching, and were seen before long in the valley of the Tiber; thereupon Alexander shut himself up in the Castle of S. Angelo.

On the 31<sup>st</sup> of December 1494 the King of France arrived at the Flaminian Gate just when the Neapolitans were leaving by the Gate of S. Sebastian. The magistrates presented him with the keys of the City, and then joined the populace and a certain number of Cardinals, in order to give greater magnificence to the conqueror's triumph, which took place amid the glare of torches and impressive military display. The King held his lance in rest, archers marched with their bows in hand, the Swiss mercenaries swung their halberds, while the polished steel cuirasses of the French cavalry, reputed the best in Europe, glittered in the light. Brantôme describes it as "a regular earthquake or thunderbolt of war". The army at once took possession of the principal streets, and when Charles VIII reached the Palazzo S. Marco, which had been prepared for his reception, the body-guard were disposed around it as though it had been a fortress. The King's gibbets, scaffold and gallows, were instantly erected in five or six different places, licencies were made out in his name, while his edicts

and orders were proclaimed by trumpet call as they were in Paris. (1)

Meanwhile Alexander VI remained shut up in the Castle of S. Angelo, with Cardinals Orsini and Caraffa, and declined to enter into any conference. Some few Cardinals urged Charles to depose him by an ecclesiastical assembly; but he steadily resisted these perfidious suggestions. In like manner he refused to open fire on the Castle of S. Angelo, although twice, says Comines, artillery was ready and that "*la motte fut de main d'hommes et petite*".

Finally Alexander consented to treat; but with a fixed determination not to grant Charles what he most desired, the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. Beleaguered in Hadrian's tomb he remained there a fortnight, besieged and threatened with deposition; yet they could not obtain his authority for conquering a kingdom whose investiture he had conferred upon another.

The principal articles of the Convention were that Ostia and Civita-Vecchia should be given up to the King of France as places of surety; that Zizim should also be handed over to him, and that Cardinal

(1) Brantôme, "*Vies des Hommes illustres*". See also Comines. We learn from the official correspondence of the period that the King administered "very good justice", and that "on no account" would he allow Rome to be pillaged. The Provost-marshal, for this offence, "hanged five of our men in the Field of Flora"; says the Bâtard de Bourbon; he then adds:—"the King will allow no pillaging about the court, and in every order given to the army it runs that should a man steal even the value of a penny he shall be publicly punished on the spot".

Cæsar Borgia should accompany the army as a hostage.

This Convention having been signed, the Pope returned to the Vatican where he received the French Prince. Charles at length arrived to assist at a Consistory, at which he "did obedience and reverence to the Pontiff, according to the custom of his predecessors". (1)

He even desired to assist at Alexander's solemn Mass celebrated on S. Sebastian's day, the 20<sup>th</sup> of January. On this occasion the King was supported by the Seigneurs de Foix, de Montpensier, de Ligny, and de Bresse; one of whom bore the salver, another the napkin, while Charles himself poured out water for the Pontiff's ablutions. Alexander resolved to leave the memory of this humble deference of the eldest son of the Church towards his superior to posterity, and ordered two paintings representing

(1) Continuation of Fleury's "Hist. Ecclés." See also "Campagne et bulletins de la grande armée d'Italie, commandée par Charles VIII", pages 152—158. "I, this day morning", (16 January) writes Charles VIII in quaint old French, "left the palace of S. Mark where I was lodged, and came to hear Mass in S. Peter's Church, and dine and remain in the palace of the said Holy Father, which he had prepared for me. It is a very fine lodging, and as well furnished in all things as any palace or castle I have ever seen. And, after dinner, our said holy Father, who was in the Castle of S. Angelo, came to the said palace, and we met in a garden which runs by the gallery leading to the said Castle of S. Angelo. He received me warmly and with great honour. . . ."

the event to be executed for the gallery of S. Angelo. (1)

Charles VIII left Rome at the end of January and directed his course by way of Marino and Velletri towards Naples. On the march Zizim died of some unknown complaint, which, in those sad times, was taken to be the result of poison, (2) and which the Venetians and Alexander were in turn accused of administering. Another event, no less important in its consequences, was the escape of Cæsar Borgia, who was bound to remain with the suite of Charles VIII as a hostage. He slipped away from the army when it had got no further than Velletri, and from that moment the difficulties of the return journey might have been foreseen.

(1) According to Jean de Tillet and Henri de Sponde, Alexander crowned Charles VIII Emperor of Constantinople, in virtue of a cession of his rights made by Andrew Palaiologos, son of Thomas, and nephew of Constantine XV, the last reigning Emperor. It was on the strength of this, that the King of France wore imperial ornaments on his entry into Naples. The official documents published some years back by M. de la Pilorgerie "*Campagne et bulletins de la grande armée d'Italie commandée par Charles VIII*" maintain a strict silence about this pretended coronation, a silence incapable of explanation if this ceremony actually took place.

(2) Sagredo and Guicciardini accuse the Pope of Zizim's death; Corio attributes it to the little care the French monarch took of his prisoner. Finally, Burchard, the only historian who particularizes the date and place of his death, says that it was caused "*esu sive potu non conveniente naturæ suæ et consuetudini*".

Very shortly after this, a league of the Italian powers was formed against France, and all chances of retreat seemed cut off for Charles just as the overweening levity of the French was beginning to stir up the Neapolitans to revolt. But Charles determined to face the storm, and left Naples to fight his way back to France. Alexander did not wait until he had arrived at Rome, for, while the young conqueror was marching across the pontifical city, (1) the Pope was fleeing to Orvieto and Perugia, determined, if need be, to seek refuge in Venice. He did not return to Rome until the French had crossed the Apennines, but continued to encourage the enemies of France by his brave spirit. In 1496, Henry VII, King of England, also joined the league, an event which was hailed with great rejoicings at Rome. The sovereign Pontiff, accompanied by his Cardinals, rode in procession to S. Maria-del-Popolo, where, as a thanksgiving, he celebrated the Mass of the Holy Ghost; indulgencies were also proclaimed, and a *Te Deum* was sung as though for victory.

But, if the humiliation of France was the object of Alexander's thoughts, that of the Orsini and the Colonna was not less dear to his heart, on account of their having treated with Charles. He first attacked the Orsini, who were the feebler; but they gallantly de-

(1) "Monday the first of June, the King entered Rome, and was lodged in the palace of Cardinal Clemente . . . and as soon as he was in Rome, like a good and loyal Catholic, he went to the church of Master S. Peter of Rome to make his offerings." "*Vergier d'honneur*." M. Leo says, "Charles was quite unable to prevent his army from pillaging".

fended the stronghold of Bracciano, and in a bloody battle captured the Duke of Urbino who was general of the pontifical troops. Alexander was now compelled to hide his real intentions, so he directed all his forces on Ostia, which was still in the hands of the French, and by its position at the entrance of the Tiber greatly interfered with the victualling of Rome. The King of Naples sent the distinguished captain Gonzalo Aguilar de Cordoba to his assistance in this expedition. He had carried on a bitter war with the Moors in the kingdom of Granada, and with the French in Calabria. Gonzalo restored Ostia to the Holy See; and the Pope, in an excess of joy, presented him with the golden rose which it was customary only to bestow on crowned heads. Gonzalo was not misled by this flattery, for, when the Pope made some disparaging remarks about the King of Spain, he retorted with "holy energy", says Rinaldi, "and true military frankness", by upbraiding the easy life at the pontifical court.

The fact is that the disgraceful behaviour of that court had reached its climax. Rome knew that her prosperity was reviving beneath a strong hand; factions were reluctantly compelled to yield, for neither wealth nor power could shelter them from justice: but, at the same time, the highest offices in the State, even the title of Cardinal, were given to Alexander's natural children. (1) The higher this family rose,

(1) Cæsar Borgia and his brothers were not publicly admitted to be sons of the Pontiff. In fact Briçonnet, Charles VIII minister, writing from Rome about Cæsar, says he is the "nephew" or "a very near relative of the Pope".

the more public opinion, always prone to extremes, delighted in exaggerating its vices; while deeds of darkness now took place which added to the horror it inspired. One evening in June, 1496, the Duke of Gandia, one of Alexander's sons, disappeared, and his body was found in the Tiber stabbed with nine wounds. A boatman towards midnight had seen some men near the riverside pointing out to a horseman the spot in which he was to throw a bundle which he carried on the crupper. It was close to the mouth of a drain which carried off the sewage of the town. Every Roman robber knew this spot; and the boatman declared that, having witnessed more than a hundred similar cases at the same place, without any notice having been taken by the police, he had looked upon it as a matter of no importance. The horseman had backed his horse to the water's edge, and the corpse, which was enveloped in a cloak, was flung out into the river. It was known that the Duke of Gandia had been present, with some friends and his brother Cæsar, at a merry supper given by his mother Vanozza at her house near S. Pietro-in-Vincoli. During supper a masked individual, who had held mysterious relations with him for a month past, asked to see him. This man shadowed him when he was returning to the palace with Cæsar, at a very late hour, and also after the brothers had separated. Nothing more was heard of the Duke of Gandia. Although such occurrences were by no means rare, public opinion nevertheless accused Cæsar Borgia of the crime; as a kind of explanation for the deed, love affairs common to the brothers were suspected, and father, daughter,



and sons were all involved in these horrible suspicions. (1)

Alexander VI grieved bitterly over the death of the Duke of Gandia; but he never thought Cæsar was guilty, and his affection for him increased with his sorrow. Meanwhile Cæsar had long envied the rank and advantages of a secular Prince; he resigned the purple, obtained from Louis XII the title of Duke of Valentinois, and made use of the apostolic treasures to further his ambitious dream of conquering Romagna. Throughout the pontifical States the despotism of petty lords, whose tyrannies made every town the centre of a grasping and arbitrary government, had become unbearable. Cæsar Borgia was therefore welcomed as a liberator; and he found it an easy matter to reduce the fortresses, thanks to his great military skill, and that deep political duplicity which obtained Machiavelli's admiration.

The Sinigaglia murders, committed on unsuspecting men, represent one of the terrible methods for success which was then being taught under the title of the

(1) Roscoe reduces these accusations of incest and fratricide, which are based on no authentic evidence, to their true proportions. Moreover, it is strange that Lucretia Borgia, whose name has become a byword for shame and disgrace, is actually quoted for her virtues by a great many contemporary writers, such as Giraldi, Sardi, Ercole Strozzi, and Ariosto. The last writer gives her the first place in the temple he had raised to feminine excellence in the 42 canto of his poem, even placing her above the first Lucretia. — Cæsar was not the only person charged with this murder; the Orsini and Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, near whose palace the brothers had parted on the night of the murder, were also suspected.

art of reigning. The four victims were Wittellozzo, Oliverotto, Paolo, and Francesco Orsini. M. Leo relates, however, "that their hands were not much less stained with blood than those of the Borgia". At the same time those members of the Orsini family who had returned to Rome were arrested by the Pope's orders and only recovered their liberty by surrendering their fortresses; the Colonna were also compelled to deliver up the keys of their strongholds; while those places which resisted were razed to the ground.

Thus the Pontiff's policy was universally successful. Each day his power increased: in the East, Forli, Pesaro, Urbino, Rimini, were in Cæsar's hands; in the West, the principality of Piombino acknowledged the sovereignty of the Apostolic See. Had Alexander's own methods always been lawful, and if Cæsar Borgia's blind ambition had not tarnished all his actions, the re-establishment of pontifical authority might have been palatable to the Papal States, and the destruction of those petty tyrannies which had checked their development would have been a cause of rejoicing. But, in destroying those centres of resistance, the Borgia created others for their own advantage; they were seeking their own interest more than the good of the Church. But at last it seemed as though Heaven itself had resolved to put a stop to these dangerous successes. A frightful storm raged at Rome during the celebration of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul; the roof of the Vatican was blown off, and a mass of ruins smashed through the ceiling of the room in which the Pontiff was sitting. Several men were killed; Alexander dis-

appeared amid the ruins; everyone thought he must be dead, and his successor was talked about, when it was discovered that the canopy above him had saved his life. Alexander then solemnly proceeded to S. Maria-del-Popolo, accompanied by the clergy and nobility, in order to return public thanks to God.

Three years later Alexander VI died, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of August 1503. According to some authors he expired after a repast taken in his vineyard at the Belvedere in the Vatican. These writers state that at the same meal both his son and Cardinal Adriano Corneto were taken ill. Alexander and Cæsar had wished to poison the Cardinal in order to obtain his wealth, but by some carelessness they drank the fatal beverage themselves. Guicciardini adds, in order to give dramatic effect to this story, that Cæsar only escaped his father's fate by causing himself to be enveloped in the palpitating entrails of a mule. (1)

(1) Guicciardini's account has been followed by many historians. M. Leo and M. Ranke, in our own day, give credence to it, though the latter makes some slight changes in it on the strength of a MS. of Marino Sanuto's chronicle. Instead of a beverage it was a sweet dish, and instead of by chance it was at the entreaty of Cardinal Corneto that the majordomo served it to the Pope instead of to him; from this it would appear that the servant had forewarned him that it contained poison. Voltaire says, "I make bold to say to Guicciardini: Europe has been deceived by you, and you have been deceived by your hatred. You were the Pope's enemy; you have trusted too much in your dislike and the actions of his life. True he had carried out cruel and perfidious vengeance on enemies as cruel and perfidious as himself; therefrom you conclude that a Pope of seventy-four did not

It is well after these painful scenes to turn to pleasanter subjects, and to follow the progress of learning and intellect, apart from the government and vices of a rotten society. At the very time the Duke of Gandia was murdered at Rome, the two brothers Pollajuoli were peacefully sculpturing the fine cenotaphs of Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII. Innocent was represented raising his hand in the act of blessing. A few years before this Benozzo Gozzoli had reproduced the pure and inspired style of his master, Fra Angelico, at the Torre dei Conti, at Araceli, and at S. Maria-Maggiore. Andrea Mantegna had been summoned from Mantua by Innocent VIII to decorate the Belvedere Palace, which that Pontiff had added to the Vatican. Mantegna devoted himself with such loving attention to this task, that, as Vasari remarks, his works were more like delicate miniatures than great compositions; "*più tosto miniate*

die a natural death; you pretend, on merely vague rumour, that an aged sovereign, whose coffers at the time were filled with more than a million gold ducats, wished to poison some Cardinals that he might get possession of their furniture. But was this furniture so very important? These articles were nearly always carried off by servants before the Popes could lay hold of a few fragments of the plunder. How can you think that, for so small a gain, a prudent man would risk so infamous an action, one, too, which needed accomplices, and one which, sooner or later, must be discovered. Ought I not rather to believe the diary of the Pope's illness than idle public gossip? That diary relates that he died of a double tertian fever. There is not the slightest evidence for the accusation brought against his memory. His son, Borgia, fell ill at the time of his father's death; therein lies the sole foundation for the poison-story."

chè di pittura". But, from this period, conception in painting began to be less appreciated than charm of colour and magic of perspective. What was most admired and praised, in Mantegna's "Baptism of Jesus Christ", was neither the head of Our Lord, nor that of S. John Baptist, but the skill with which the artist had represented the efforts of a neophyte to turn his stockings, wet with perspiration, inside out, before entering the Jordan.

Schools of art which encouraged Christian thought began to deteriorate at this period, and subjects were no longer reproduced for the sake of purity. For instance Pinturicchio, a pupil of Perugino, painted a Virgin who was the faithful likeness of Giuliana Farnese, that too celebrated Vanozza, beloved by Alexander, in the Borgia apartments. She held the Infant Jesus on her knee, while Alexander was represented kneeling at her feet.

The Borgia Tower and apartments were fresh additions made by Alexander to the already immense Vatican to which every Pontiff felt bound to contribute something; he employed Perugino and Pinturicchio to decorate them. Pinturicchio also received orders to embellish the Castle of S. Angelo; he painted the portraits of Trivulzio, Orsini, Cæsar Borgia, and a great many other distinguished men of the period, "molti virtuosi di que' tempi".

There are more paintings by Pinturicchio remaining in Rome dating from the end of the fifteenth century than by any other artist. S. Maria-del-Popolo, Aracœli, S. Croce-in-Gerusalemme were in turn beautified by his brush. About the same time

Filippino Lippi, by order of Cardinal Caraffa, was painting in the church of La Minerva scenes from the life of S. Thomas Aquinas, and was devoting himself to the discovery of Roman antiquities to assist him in the composition of his arabesques.

Antiquarian research had developed into a very passion. The study of mythology, and of Latin and Greek writers, became the favourite occupation of learned men; papal Rome disappeared in favour of Rome of the consuls and Emperors; and the universities were occupied in familiarizing their scholars with the world of Jupiter, Cæsar, and Brutus, much more than with the Christian society in which they had to live. "Care for the dead is much recommended to us", writes Montaigne, when speaking about the ancient capital of the world; "now from my childhood I have been brought up with those in her; I was acquainted with all the affairs of Rome long before I knew those of my own house; I knew the Capitol and its plan before I knew the Louvre, the Tiber before the Seine. My head was fuller of the deeds and fortunes of Lucullus, Metellus, and Scipio than with any of our own heroes." (1)

Worship of the antique led to Christian genius losing much of its greatness and originality. Art was narrowed down to the representation of one style of beauty, whose outlines could only be studied in the ruins of pagan temples. These remains were measured and restored with indefatigable science; their proportions were accurately calculated, their

(1) "Essais", Book III, Chap. IX.

capitals and volutes copied; and any work which was a departure from the imitation of ancient art was condemned as Gothic and Tudesque, such as S. Maria of Milan, or S. Petronio of Bologna. Thus Rome became a place of compulsory pilgrimage to all artists. Accompanied by Donatello, Bruneleschi, who had not yet constructed the marvellous cupola of S. Maria-dei-Fiori, came to the city; he wandered about, compass in hand, now upon the cornice of the Temple of Concord, sketching the Coliseum or the Arch of Septimus Severus; now digging for fragments of a column, for a bust or a coin, until both he and his companion were taken for necromancers by the poor people, who called them the treasure-seekers. (1) It is fortunate that the talents of these great men were not injured by so much copying; but on the contrary their works were distinguished for Christian feeling and for their great beauty. Painting like architecture, hitherto entirely devoted to the Christian mysteries, became a medium for heathen ideas; in the vicinity of Madonnas, Virgins, Martyrs, and Crucifixions appeared representations of Venus, Leda, and Danaë, attractive pictures which, instead of elevating the mind, filled it with sensual thoughts. Worship of form and of outward beauty became the artist's religion who devoted himself to these creations.

(1) Vasari, "Vite de' più eccellenti". While dwelling at Rome, Donatello sculptured, for the altar of the Blessed Sacrament at S. Peter's, a tabernacle which has been replaced by a bronze gilt replica of the small temple of S. Pietro-in-Montorio by Bernini.

Literature also was influenced by the fine arts, even aiding and abetting this transformation of social ideas. Dante's great poem was put aside for the mythological pastorals of Politian. No other models were to be followed except Homer and Virgil, unless one wrote sonnets on love like Petrarch, or exposed vice to ridicule without amending it, as in the tales of the Decameron.

Nevertheless, up to the end of the fifteenth century, the theatre had still succeeded in moving and touching the audience by means of Biblical representations, or scenes from the lives of martyrs and saints. Great artists, Cecca, Bartolomeo della Gatta, San Gallo, devoted their talents to represent angels, or to describe heaven or hell, in order to make these mysteries more effective; but the day was approaching when these Christian dramas would appear cold and insipid contrasted with profane subjects.

Such was to be the sixteenth century. It is with regret we leave those truly Christian ages in which thought at least remained pure, though deeds were not; it is with grief we read the account of Rome during the Jubilee of 1500 as it is sketched by Mariana: "Licence and dissoluteness reigned more completely there than elsewhere in the world; crime sat upon the throne, and probably never before had such shameless corruptions of morals been seen, particularly among the clergy, who, by sanctity of character, ought to have set an example of virtue to the faithful." (1) Doubtless this picture was true;

(1) Mariana, Book XXXVII, No. 29.



yet still Rome remained prominent among nations. Comines observes: "Were it not for the quarrels of the Orsini and Colonna, the States of the Church would be the happiest on earth for their subjects, for they pay neither taxes nor anything else."

We have already remarked that the social status of Rome had considerably improved. Pontifical power was no longer despised, while the development of the fine arts and literature had carried intelligence into spheres of interest and thought quite opposed to politics. A similar change was taking place in nearly all the small States throughout the Peninsula. Having been for so long open battle-fields for the struggles of petty ambitions and jealousies, under the more stable government of their Counts they resembled learned academies in which no disputes were permitted, unless on the beauty of some statue, the force of some syllogism, or the merit of some sonnet.

This peaceful and refined civilisation perfectly suited every requirement of knightly courtesy. It added charm to the palace revelries, and warlike spirit, far from deteriorating, took fresh life from the applause that beauty bestowed upon an upright bearing and courageous mien. Probably at no other period of modern history did Italy produce so many skilful and brave warriors as now. There were the Counts of Carmagnola, of Colleone, Mocenigo, Sforza, Piccinino, Braccio da Montone, Orsini, Gonzaga; then Trivulzio, Prospero, and Fabrizio Colonna performed their first deeds of arms: Germany, France, and Spain sent their bravest soldiers to fight in Italy and instruct the Italians in the art of warfare.

The fact that the Italian peninsula was subdivided into a number of small independent States deprived it of political importance, and placed it in the rear of the other powers; but it was not so with regard to the arts of peace, in which Italy's superiority was undisputed. The moral energy of the greater part of European nations exhausted itself on the contrary in conflicts and fighting. In England the Wars of the Roses between the Houses of York and Lancaster were raging; all family ties were broken; the nearest relatives sought to murder one another; the Tower of London witnessed the assassination of Edward IV children. In France a noble effort was made to prevent foreign aggression; throughout that country the French were attacking the English, until God Himself came to the rescue of honour and courage; then the oligarchy of the Barons trembled before Tristan the hermit, and only revived beneath the glorious standard of the conqueror of Naples. At the further extremity of Europe, the East was suffering the miseries of invasion; although Mathias Corvinus still upheld the honour of the cross. Ivan Basilides freed the Russians from Tartar oppression, and John Dlugloff was relating the exploits and virtues of the Poles. Germany was broken up and torn asunder by intestine quarrels, while the King of Hungary was entering Vienna. Spain, on the contrary, saw the increase of her greatness and power by the union of her various crowns on the heads of Ferdinand and Isabella; while an era of glory and indescribable prosperity was about to dawn for her by the expulsion of the Moors and the discovery of the New World.

Thus, at the moment when Christendom was losing her beautiful provinces of Asia Minor and Greece, an entire world was thrown open to the zeal of its apostles. (1) It must have been a noble spectacle beholding the Roman Pontiff apportioning this new continent and her islands, unknown to the rest of the world for more than five thousand years, to the navigators; he exacted only one condition, namely, free and unchecked propagation of civilisation and of the Gospel. Every traveller carried back accounts which appeared like fables to Europeans; and people were filled with admiration on beholding the curious things brought from that strange land; everyone strove to obtain a tomahawk, or to get hold of gold from the Indies for purposes of decoration. Alexander VI utilised the first gold from the West Indies which reached Rome in ornamenting the soffit raised by Giuliano-di-San-Gallo at S. Maria Maggiore.

At the same time another curiosity astonished the world, and caused the greatest delight and wonder. Germany first beheld the printing press of Gutenberg; Italy and France were not long behind, and very soon

(1) The part taken by the Catholic clergy, especially by those Dominicans whom historians accuse of intolerance, in the discovery of America was most noble. Those evil reports invented by the philosophic spirit of the last century to their discredit are contradicted by two eloquent passages in Robertson's "History of America", Books III and V, the work of a Protestant clergyman, in which he praises the knowledge friars had of the world and its business, as well as their moderation and gentleness; he indignantly rejects the charge made against them of destroying the Americans, a charge which was attributed to the spirit of intolerance of the Roman faith.

applications for workmen in the new art came from all parts. Two Germans, Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz, first introduced it into Italy during Paul II pontificate. They established themselves near Subiaco, in the monastery of S. Scholastica, at that time occupied by German Benedictines; there, with the assistance of the monks, they successively published the works of Lactantius, S. Augustine's "City of God", and Cicero's "De Oratore". In 1467 they went to Rome, to the Massimi palace, where the Bishop of Aleria, Giovanni Andrea di Bussi, who had studied under Vittorino di Feltre, associated himself with their work, his knowledge proving of the greatest service in correcting the proofs. The learned Bishop gave up his nights and days to this work. He described it as a "wretched trade, which did not consist in finding pearls amidst rubbish, but rubbish amidst pearls". Nevertheless he devoted himself to the task, without any personal profit, sadly realising the fact that, before undertaking this wearisome business, he had not always the wherewithal to get shaved. (1) The first books he published, with Conrad and Arnold, were three hundred copies of the grammar of Donatus and five hundred and fifty copies of Cicero's "Letters to his Friends". These works had only just appeared when another German printer, Ulrich Hahn, also came to Rome, and edited Cardinal Torquemada's "Meditations": this edition, which was delivered to the public on the 31<sup>st</sup> of December, was illustrated with wood engravings. The competition between these

(1) Preface to Aulus Gellius, 1469.

two firms was most keen, and what helped Ulrich Hahn in maintaining it was not only the beauty of his books, but because he found in Giovanni-Antonio Campano, Bishop of Teramo, a reviser as able as the Bishop of Aleria had proved himself for Sweynheim's works.

It was especially in Germany that the discovery of printing produced a great revolution; after long years of slumber German intelligence awoke with a burning desire for information; the universities of Tubingen and of Maintz were rising, preceding by only a few years those of Wittenberg and Frankfort. Reasoning and argument abounded, therefore printing was called upon to reproduce, for the benefit of this solemn and reflecting people, deep theses, and inflamed theological dissertations: Erasmus and Luther were already born; and the Froben press was shortly to vomit by thousands pamphlets on behalf of the Reformation.

Some years before this great upheaval, when unusual excitement prevailed in Europe during the period of the Council of Constance and Schism of Basle, a book of peace, union, love, and charity had appeared called "The Imitation of Jesus Christ". Doubtless its unknown author, who pointed out to the troubled world all the sweetness and charm of true Christian life, had dwelt within the peaceful silence of a cloister. "The Imitation of Jesus Christ" was an anticipatory reply to the errors and empty systems which reason was about to preboud in the coming century.

Should the character of the Imitation appear to present an astounding contrast to the life and customs of the period when it appeared, let us not forget

that sublime virtues existed as well as vice. Rome above all, possessed virtues which distinguished her from all other cities. Before we enter on this subject let us speak of a great saint of the fifteenth century, who came twice to the pontifical city, and whose memory is inseparable from one of its chief monuments.

S. Francisco di Paula had been dedicated from childhood to the Order of Friars Minor, his parents having attributed his birth to the prayers of the patriarch of Assisi. Therefore, at the age of thirteen, he was entered among the Franciscans of S. Marco, in Calabria; but his ascetic mind did not think their rule sufficiently severe, nor their solitude complete. So he quitted S. Marco on the expiration of the period fixed by his parents for the fulfilment of their vow, and made pilgrimages to Rome, to S. Maria-degli-Angeli, and to Assisi, after which he took up his abode in a grotto some distance from the small town of Paula by the sea-side. Henceforth the holy hermit's life was devoted to meditation, and, strange though it may appear, disciples came to place themselves under his direction. At first only three cells and a chapel were built to receive them, a priest from the neighbourhood coming to perform services; but so rapidly did their number increase that it became necessary to erect a monastery. The population of Calabria alone bore the cost; lords and ladies mixed with the workmen, encouraging, helping, and recompensing them for their labours. The object of S. Francisco di Paula's institution was to preach rather by deeds than by words; thus his disciples neglected

science and letters in order to give themselves up to severe penances, fasting, abstinence, and, above all, to prayer.

However careful the saint might be to hide himself from the world his fame increased and spread: Louis XI heard of him, and this unhappy Prince, trembling at the approach of death, sent for the hermit of Paula to prolong his days. Francis refused to leave his rock and disciples; but, at the urgent instance of Louis XI, Sixtus IV in two letters ordered him to obey the wishes of the dying King. One of the King's chamberlains went to fetch him, and the saint set forth. Comines relates: "The said hermit passed through Naples, honoured and visited, as though he were a great apostolic legate, as well by the King as by his children; and he spoke with the King as though he had been brought up at a court. Thence he came to Rome, where he was visited by all the Cardinals, and received three times at a private audience by the Pope; he was seated near the Pope in a great chair for the space of three or four hours each time (which was in truth a great honour for so small a man); and he replied so wisely that all were astonished; therefore the Holy Father granted him leave to found an Order: The Hermits of S. Francis. Thence he journeyed to the King, honoured as though he were the Pope himself, the King kneeling before him in order that he might prolong his days. The saint answered the King even as a wise man should reply." (1)

(1) "*Mémoires de Comines.*" The Order founded by S. Francis only took the title of Minims in 1493.

S. Francisco di Paula met with universal respect in France: he was only known there by the names of the good man, the holy man; and when, in 1495, Charles VIII passed through Rome, he ordered a monastery for the hermits of the Calabrian saint to be built, at his cost, on the Pincian Hill, and the fine church of La Trinità-di-Monte remained in the possession of French Minims until the great French Revolution. It now belongs to French nuns; the lofty belfries and noble façade of this church overlook the whole of Rome. (1)

Shortly before this foundation another Frenchman, Cardinal d'Estouteville, the archpriest of S. Maria-Maggiore, had enlarged and embellished that noble Basilica. The same Cardinal erected a magnificent church for the Augustinians dedicated to the Bishop of Hippo. The cupola of this church was the first raised in Rome. (2)

During this century Rome was filled with men of science and piety. Cardinal Bessarion enriched her with books and manuscripts from Greece, and became a generous protector of talent and of virtue. Cardinal Torquemada founded charitable institutions, and did not spare either gold or labour to render these works successful. We have seen that in the thirteenth

(1) La Trinità-di-Monte was only completed in the second half of the sixteenth century. Sixtus V raised it to cardinalate rank, and its title has generally been borne by Frenchmen. In this century it was held by Cardinal de Bonald.

(2) Baccio Pintelli was the architect. We must also mention the church of S. Croce on Monte Mario, built by Mario Mellini, from whom the hill takes its name, in the fifteenth century.



century Innocent III laid the foundations of the grand hospital of S. Spirito; Sixtus IV added considerably to it in the fifteenth century, and caused its walls to be adorned with paintings. The church of S. Antonio-Abate, with its hospital for those suffering from burns, was likewise reconstructed and enlarged in the fifteenth century. (1) S. Maria-della-Consolazione dates from the same period; and two large hospitals, for the accomodation of the wounded of either sex, were begun close by. (2) At the same time a hospital for the treatment of ulcers was opened at S. Giacomo near the mausoleum of Augustus through the liberality of Cardinal Pietro Colonna. Gardeners, fishermen, and shop-keepers of the Quarter Ripa Grande built the graceful church of S. Maria-dell'-Orto with its hospital for their own sick; apothecaries, innkeepers, and Tiber watermen founded the hospitals of S. Rocco and S. Lorenzo-in-Miranda. All trades and classes formed confraternities to encourage one another in good deeds and mutual assistance in misfortune. Lawyers took S. Ivo as their patron, and undertook to carry out lawsuits for the poor free of charge. Masons and sculptors assembled in the church of the Quatro-Santi; painters in a chapel dedicated to S. Luke, on the Viminal; and bakers gave orders to the best architects

(1) This hospital, founded in the twelfth century, was especially destined for those suffering from erysipelas.

(2) These hospitals became celebrated. Mabillon quotes the will of one Antonius, who bequeathed his body to S. Maria-della-Consolazione, in order that it might be reduced to a skeleton for purposes of instruction; "*in osseam compagem redigi ad usum medicorum*",

to build a church for them under the title of S. Maria-di-Loreto. (1)

Most of these confraternities devoted their voluntary contributions not only to nursing the sick but also to granting dowries to pauper girls. These dowries ran from 30, 50, and 60 Roman crowns, according to the means of the confraternities. (2) Some of these associations, among others those of the Gonfalone, the Holy Rosary, the Seven Dolours of the Virgin, the Annunciation, spent considerable sums of money in buying food and clothing for distribution, in addition to laying aside money for the dowries of young girls, which was always reckoned among the principal works of mercy. The Confraternity of the Annunciation was started in the church of La Minerva by Torquemada, a Spanish Dominican and Cardinal.

Every year on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March, the Feast day of the Confraternity, four hundred young girls received their dowries from its funds. This feast was celebrated with great magnificence. The Pope came on horseback to La Minerva, accompanied by the Cardinals and Roman nobility; the girls all dressed alike, except that some wore wreaths, received them at the entrance. Those who wore wreaths were maidens who preferred the humble but peaceful life of a cloister to the more

(1) The sculptors' confraternity dates from 1406; that of painters from 1350; but it only came into possession of the church of S. Martina in the seventeenth century. The bakers founded S. Maria-di-Loreto in 1500. We can only refer to a few of these associations.

(2) A Roman crown was worth 5 francs 40 centimes, about 4/6 English money.

attractive but quickly fading pleasures of the world. Then the Pope presented some of them with a white serge garment for a wedding dress, sixty crowns, and a florin for slippers; but to the others he only gave money, though twice as much as that given to their companions. (1)

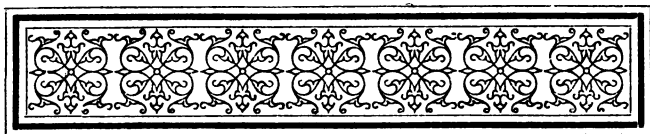
In 1488 a terrible epidemic swept away the unfortunate inhabitants around Rome; the dying were forsaken, the dead left unburied. Some Florentines formed a confraternity, under the name of La Pietà, to render the last duties of Christian charity to the plague-stricken. To this confraternity we owe the beautiful church of S. Giovanni-dei-Florentini in the Strada Giulia. Another confraternity accompanied the Blessed Sacrament to the sick; another followed the criminal to the scaffold praying for him. These services were not only rendered by priests whose lives were devoted to religion, but by laymen drawn from every class of society. Once they had put on the white or black cassock marked with the cross of Our Lord, they ceased to be Kings, Princes, merchants or laity but were called the Brethren of the Dying, the Brethren of Pity, the Brethren of Death: their faces

(1) In our day, the revenues having diminished, the Confraternity of the Annunciation gives only dowries of 30 crowns to girls who are to be married, and 50 crowns to novices. The serge dress and slippers have been replaced by 3 crowns and 60 bajocchi. "Will it be believed", says M. de Tournon, former prefect of Rome during the French administration, "that at Rome a considerable number of poor girls marry at the cost of the State . . . a charitable work unknown in other lands". "Études statistiques sur Rome", II, p. 132.

were concealed, and a few openings in their habit were left for their eyes, hands, and feet, in order that they might see the suffering, and hasten to their assistance. (1)

(1) These confraternities having their own chapels or churches, often built at their own expense, prove that, in addition to their works of piety and charity, they were largely responsible for the great development of the Fine Arts at Rome.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

... Urbis lacerum ferro, igne, annisque cadaver  
Ad vitam, antiquum jam revocasque decus.

*Castiglione.*

## SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

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THE history of Protestantism does not fall within the scope of the history of Christian Rome ; nevertheless we cannot pass through the glorious period, known as the age of Leo X, without recalling that all this luxury and display of art, these easy, polished, manners, and sensual ideas served as the excuse for a lamentable secession. Never before had Rome appeared so great in the eyes of the world ; never had her ædiles, her consuls, her conscript fathers who were mistaken for Kings, presented so majestic an appearance as did that choice gathering, that galaxy of nobles and great intellects, who now surrounded the pontifical throne. It appeared as though the city of the Cæsars were about to rise again from her ruins, so numerous and magnificent were the stately piles to be seen from

Hadrian's Mole to the Coliseum, from Trajan's column to the Capitol. Yet, in fact, the glories of the past were as nothing compared with the monuments and marvellous conceptions teeming in the brains of artists, who were about to adorn the capital of Christendom, and make all Europe gaze in silent wonder and admiration.

Religion was propagated not only by means of schools but by splendid edifices, paintings, statuary and hymns, as well as by deeds of thanksgiving. The Vicar, as representative of Jesus Christ, presided over this movement and encouraged it, as most of his predecessors had done, with exquisite taste and royal munificence.

Unhappily antiquarian research had more and more imbued men's minds with the voluptuous ideas of Greek mythology. Artists painted by turns a Venus or a Galatea for a Prince's hall, and a Virgin and Child for a monastery. Inspiration no longer came naturally; it was artificial, modifying itself according to place and circumstances. Physical beauty, worship of form, the poetry of the senses, such were the springs at which men of genius now slaked their thirst. Their Madonnas were more often remarkable for their beauty than for their holy expression; their SS. Sebastians and Mary Magdalens were quite as much admired for their nude beauty, and for their anatomical perfection, as for their expressions of suffering and repentance; indeed, if we are to believe Vasari, the confessional sometimes heard the avowal of the fatal impressions made even in the

very bosom of Christian temples by these profane representations. (1)

Vasari says :— "Those who work at holy things should be holy; because if religious subjects are treated by unbelievers or scoffers they can only produce impure and evil impressions." The life that was led during the Renaissance was too dissipated to leave room for what was holy and uninjurious; art had sunk to a mere amusement, a pleasure appreciated for its own sake. A comedy that was lively and satirical was applauded, whether it were vicious or virtuous. If a painting happened to be well grouped, beautifully designed and coloured, it was enthusiastically admired, whether the subject were moral or immoral. Nothing was appreciated except art and genius.

Freedom of thought even reached the pontifical throne; many Cardinals were far less priests than literati; the same impulse affected monasteries, where, by way of relaxation, pagan poets were read to counteract the tedium caused by reading the works of the Fathers; Cicero's graceful style found more admirers than the rough eloquence of S. Paul; severe discipline was no longer understood by monks who had ceased to follow it. No doubt reform was necessary, one which should combine religious faith with all that was beautiful and noble.

(1) It is a remarkable fact that Vasari makes this allusion with reference to a painting of S. Sebastian by Fra Bartolomeo, one of those painters who kept closest to Christian traditions.

Germans who came to Rome understood nothing of these broad notions of external culture: their point of view was always dogmatical, never poetical; therefore, without limiting their censure to abuses, they condemned everything; fine arts and gorgeous festivals were to them mere idolatry. Erasmus, however, did not go to these extremes; being himself an antiquarian and a man of letters, speaking Latin with Ciceronian grace, he had too many points of sympathy with the brilliant world which surrounded Leo X to condemn its views and manners entirely. But, although the learned escaped his bitter tongue, the monks did not. Far from being austere himself, he scoffed at the "bushels of psalms" which, he said, were the only food provided in convents for the journey to heaven. Although as a young man he had yielded to the seductions of pleasure, as he humbly admitted to Servatus, and had given way to Bacchanalian delight at the sight of a good bottle of Burgundy, (1) he none the less poured forth his bitter sarcasm at the gluttony of the religious, and at the small respect they had for their sacred calling. After his sojourn at Rome Erasmus went still further; the Cardinals, even the Pope himself, became more than once the butt of his

(1) Erasmus was neither a glutton nor a drunkard; but he was very fastidious in his food, as M. Nisard relates in the August and September numbers of the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*", of 1835. The very smell of fish made him feel ill, and the sight of a good bottle of wine gave him unmonastic joy; he compared its colour to a carbuncle, declaring that "its flavour was so innocent, so friendly to the stomach, that drinking much of it could do small harm". "O happy



ironical remarks, and the unrestrained licence of his wit began a skirmishing war immortalised by the jesting brush of Holbein.

Luther was far from possessing the fine delicate wit of Erasmus; his soul burned with quite a different fire, and his will was cast in a firmer mould. He appeared to be a fervent Catholic when he came to Rome; his nights were passed in meditation; and, in the holy silence of his monastery, his imagination, elevated by solitude, only dreamt of poverty and apostleship. He had seen nothing of the world except the hut in which Hans his old father lived, who bade him grow up in the fear of God; the narrow street at Wittemberg; the library of Erfurth; and the poor house of the good woman Cotta, who harboured him at Eisenach in return for the fine manner in which he sang, "Good Mary, the Pilgrim's Star!"

With the poetic and æsthetic side of religion he had no sympathy; therefore everything astonished him at Rome without raising a spark of admiration in his soul. "This poor scholar, brought up in penury, who often in childhood had nothing but a flagstone for a pillow, now passed before temples all built of marble, before alabaster columns, gigantic granite obelisks, bubbling fountains, charming villas embowered in

Burgundy!" he exclaims, "province well worthy to be called mother of men, since she has such good milk in her veins! Let us not wonder that men in ancient times worshipped as gods those whose industry had benefitted mankind by some new invention. He who showed what wine was to us, who gave it to us, aye even though he had but pointed it out to us, did not that man give us life rather than wine?"

gardens, and adorned with flowers, waterfalls and grottos. If he desired to pray, he entered a church which to his imagination appeared a world; altars sparkling with a thousand gems, soffits enriched with gold, columns of marble, chapels adorned with mosaics, these he beheld in lieu of the uncouth temples of his own land, whose only decorations were a few roses laid by some pious hand upon the altar for the Sunday service.

"If tired by his walk, he found upon his path not a miserable wooden bench but an antique alabaster seat which had been recently unearthed. If he desired to see some holy statue, he was surrounded only by pagan follies, Olympic gods, Apollo, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, upon whose images many hands were at work. Of all these wonders he realised and understood nothing. No ray from the crowns of Raphael or Michael Angelo dazzled him; he remained unmoved and dumb before the treasures of painting and sculpture which filled the churches; his ear was deaf to Dante's poem which those around him were always singing . . . He entered Rome a pilgrim; he left it like Coriolanus, exclaiming with Bembo, 'Farewell Rome, whom all should flee who wish to live in holiness! Farewell, O city, where everything is allowed, except to be an upright man.'" (1)

Let us follow this austere disciplinarian back to Germany, and wait a few years to see what lay behind this intolerant and railing fanaticism; Cranach's

- (1) Vivere qui sanctè vultis, discedite Româ:  
Omnia hîc esse licet, non licet esse probum.

This fine passage is borrowed from M. Audin's "Histoire de Luther", Chap. II.

brush has represented him as an inspired prophet; in fact he controlled all Germany from his pulpit, although the matter of his sermons consisted of curses and abuse. The city of Leo X, of Michael Angelo, of Aleander and of Raphael, the Athens of the modern world was, in his opinion, "an assembly of madmen, idiots, and fools; a disgusting beast, a den of dragons, a nest for vultures and bats, the hiding place of martins, hob-goblins, gnomes and devils." (1)

The multitudes applauded; Papal Bulls were burned; the statues of saints were overthrown: and then this holy reformer, this severe denouncer of the effeminacy of Cardinals, and of the poetic voluptuousness of Italian manners, was to be found in some tavern before a pot of Eimbeck beer, surpassing the Saxon students in coarse conversation, and arguing with Ulrich von Hutten.

The death of Alexander VI took the Duke of Valentino by surprise; but he kept his wits about him, seized the Papal treasures and jewels, and left Rome surrounded by his troops and with every appearance of power. At the same time a revolution was taking place in each of the small towns of central Italy. The nobles, who had been exiled by Alexander VI, regained possession of their authority; the Vitelli returned to Città di Castello, the Appiani to Piombino, the Montefeltri to the Duchy of Urbino, the Baglioni to Perugia. At Rome, the Orsini sallied forth from their strongholds and pillaged the Spanish bankers. The Cardinals, alarmed by these disorders, delayed

(1) Quoted by M. Audin, Chap. VIII.

the Conclave; this delay became a source of *fresh* fears; for the French and Spanish armies were approaching, and news had already arrived that 4000 men, acting under the orders of the Marchese di Saluzzo, had seized the town of Ostia. The Cardinals then ordered the streets to be barricaded, placed 20,000 men under the command of a foreign captain for the defence of the town, and, in order to avoid collision, forbade the Orsini and Prospero Colonna to enter Rome during the sitting of the Conclave. This prohibition was ill observed, for Fabio Orsini entered the city at the head of his troops and committed further pillage.

Meanwhile, after a month's delay, Cardinal Piccolomini was elected Pope and assumed the name of Pius III in memory of his uncle Pius II. He was a retiring and virtuous man, regular in his habits, and extremely gentle. Unfortunately his reign only lasted a few days.

His successor was Giuliano della Rovere, Cardinal of S. Pietro-in-vincoli, who had been raised to the purple by his uncle Sixtus IV, and who by untiring energy had made himself one of the most important members of the Sacred College. He took the title of JULIUS II, because, according to some, he wished to render homage to the military genius of Julius Cæsar whose career he envied; but more likely he merely wished to retain his baptismal name. Julius was both high minded and ambitious. Ranke says of him, "His noble soul was filled with great schemes for the advantage of the whole of Italy", and M. Leo adds, "for, in spite of all his weaknesses and pas-

sions, this Pope was one of the finest characters of that period." (1)

While the pontificate of Alexander VI lasted, Cardinal della Rovere was in league with the French; he even kept away from Rome for a long time remaining at Ostia, of which town he was Bishop, and from there he carried on underhand measures of opposition. During this period he caused the citadel and fortifications of Ostia to be rebuilt by Giuliano di San-Gallo, one of the greatest engineers of that day; and, as he united appreciation of art with love of war, he ordered towers and bastions on their completion to be decorated within with paintings and arabesques.

The Duke of Valentinois returned to Rome for a few days after the election of Alexander VI successor, and quietly took up his quarters at the Vatican, as though his father still sat upon the Pontifical throne. But his friendship with France made him very unpopular at Rome, and an outbreak was anticipated. Cæsar Borgia therefore endeavoured to leave the city; but he was attacked by the Orsini, several of his men were killed, and the Duke himself escaped with difficulty to S. Angelo.

The Venetians profitted by this check in the career of Alexander VI terrible son to direct an expedition upon Romagna. In the Venetian Republic there existed that need for expansion which usually accompanies power; it had eagerly seized upon every opportunity of self-aggrandisement, and was already mistress of

(1) Leo, "Histoire d'Italie", liv. XI, chap. III, 1.

the greater part of Lombardy and Friuli, of several of the chief Mantuan towns, and of many principal ports belonging to the kingdom of Naples, such as Brindisi, Gallipoli, and Otranto. Had it been able to add the strongholds of Emilia and the March of Ancona to these possessions, its preponderance would have been absolute in Italy, and the other States could only have moved within its orbit. Julius II foresaw this danger, and took steps to prevent it. Pressed by him, Cæsar Borgia publicly issued orders to the governors of towns, under his obedience, to surrender them to the Papal envoys; but they, doubtless aware of his secret intentions, kept their gates shut; one of them actually hanged the pontifical envoy who had trusted him. Thereupon the Duke of Valentinois was immediately imprisoned at the Vatican in the *Borgia tower* built by his father, and only released by renouncing all claims on his former dominions; after which he proceeded to Naples to join Gonzalo, weave fresh plots and find another prison.

The Duke's abdication handed over several strongholds to Julius II; but others remained in the hands of the Venetians, and the pontifical army lacked the strength to carry them by assault. The famous League of Cambrai was then concluded, the Pope being one of its most zealous promoters; *this league* united four Kings and Emperors against the Venetian Republic. Even the censures of the Church came to the assistance of its numerous battalions, and the Republic was solemnly placed under an interdict because of its usurping spirit, and interference with ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The League obtained the first advantages; Venice lost her Neapolitan ports, and also several towns in Lombardy and Romagna. Then her citizens rallied for a desperate effort: Padua and Vicenza were retaken, Treviso successfully repelled the imperial forces, and both the bravery of Bayard and the skill of Trivulzio were held in check by the undaunted energy of the Venetians. The Doge and senators, in the meanwhile, did their best to calm the anger of Julius II, and to separate his cause from that of the King of France, with whom the Pontiff had already had some differences concerning the oft disputed rights of the Church. These efforts succeeded all the more easily, inasmuch as every wish of the Pope had been fulfilled by recovering Romagna, and by his conquests of Bologna and Perugia from the Bentivoglieri and Baglioni. Accordingly the Venetian ambassadors were solemnly absolved from censure at St. Peter's church, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of February 1510, the Pope imposing as a penance that they should visit the seven great Roman Basilicas.

Henceforth Julius endeavoured to withdraw the confederates from their alliance with Louis XII, and to form a league against the King of France in order to retaliate for all the evil which had threatened the Venetians by that of Cambrai. From this moment also all the strategical skill possessed by the French generals was employed in efforts to secure the Pontiff's arrest; at one time, Marshal de Chaumont hoped he had succeeded in this at Bologna; at another, Bayard made him atone for his military prowess by compelling him to bivouac several nights in the open

field. (1) But Julius escaped every danger; yet not without experiencing the discomforts of camping out. A peril of a different character, however, now threatened him; some Cardinals, tired of his adventurous spirit, deserted him; while the French clergy spread scandalous charges against him.

This new opposition coincided with some reverses which suddenly paralysed the influence of the pontifical army. After entering the fortress of Mirandola by a breach, Julius II successively lost Concordia and Bologna. The Generals of the Church mutually blamed each other for these disasters, and, in the heat of a quarrel, the Duke of Urbino assassinated the Cardinal of Pavia. At the same time the dissentient Cardinals convoked a Council at Pisa, and cited the Pope to appear before it. Julius replied by making use of the imprescriptible right of the Apostolic See to summon all Christendom together for a General Council to be held in the Lateran Basilica. Nevertheless, the schismatics persisted in their design, and, in November 1511, a certain number of prelates, mostly Frenchmen, assembled at Pisa with Cardinals Carvajal, Borgia, Briçonnet, de Prie, and S. Angelo. Julius II

(1) "By mischance, while the good knight was pursuing the fugitives as fast as spurs could carry him, and had arrived at S. Felice, the Pope had only just entered the castle, when, on hearing cries, he rushed out without waiting for his litter, and helped to pull up the drawbridge, which was in truth the deed of a valiant man; for had he delayed the space of a Pater Noster he would have been caught. Who then was sorry? It was the good knight." (Chronicle of Bayard) "*Chronique de Bayard par le loyal serviteur*", Chap. XLIII.



degraded these Cardinals, and, in his fierce anger at this serious opposition, used every endeavour to raise up fresh enemies against France, who protected the Council of Pisa. An offensive league was concluded by the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Venetian Republic. Pedro de Navarro commanded the soldiers just returned from Africa; Cardinal Giovanni di Medici, under the title of legate, directed the pontifical troops, while the whole army was placed under the command of Raymondo di Cardona.

Young Gaston de Foix, the flower of knighthood, the pride and the hope of the white banner, led the French troops. Near him rode Odet de Foix scarcely twenty years of age, who had already made the name of Lautrec famous; with them came Bayard, Boutières, Louis d'Ars, Gramont, Crussol, Pierres, d'Imbercourt, and all that gallant nobility which had long struggled gloriously against Andrea Gritti, Alviano, Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna, and Gonzalo de Cordova, "the great captain".

The first skirmishes turned in favour of the French: but soon all the powers of Europe joined in a league against Louis XII; first came Henry VIII of England, then Maximilian of Germany, and finally 6000 Swiss set out to join the pontifical troops, bearing aloft that glorious banner upon which the ancient device was inscribed in gold letters: "*Domitores principum, amatores justitiæ, defensores sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ.*"

Unfortunately this re-inforcement only reached Raymondo di Cardona after the bloody battle of

Ravenna; but this victory cost the French the lives of Gaston de Foix and many other valiant knights. (1) On this fatal day Cardinal Medici, Fabrizio Colonna, Pedro de Navarro and young Marchese Pescara fell into the hands of the enemy. The Cardinal had remained in the thick of the battle with unflagging courage, attending to the dying instead of fighting, and, in the midst of the greatest danger, maintaining the dignity of his sacred office. (2)

The news of the defeat at Ravenna produced the utmost consternation at Rome. Some thought of inciting the populace in favour of France; others carried their fears to the Vatican, clamouring for peace, as though the French were already at their gates. But Julius did not lose heart, and his confidence in the future was soon justified by the reports that reached him from Cardinal Medici, who, as a prisoner at Milan, had been able to fathom the irreparable losses sustained by Louis XII army. In fact Louis proposed advantageous conditions of peace; and, a truce being signed, Julius profited by it to revive his supporters. The Duke of Urbino, Pompeo Colonna, and Roberto Orsini returned to his side

(1) It was on this occasion that Bayard wrote to his uncle, Louis Alleman, "If the King has gained the battle, the unhappy gentlemen have sadly lost it."

(2) *Legatus apostolicus, in clade Ravennate, non arripuit fugam, sed morientes sacro juvit officio, maluitque ab hostibus capi quam apostolici viri munus non obesse. Lucas Ermita "in hist. Romuald."* (NB. This reference is obscure; I cannot find any Lucas who has written a history of Romuald. Translator.)

with troops they had levied with French money; and Julius found himself stronger after defeat than he had been before it. The French were thoroughly disgusted at this defection, and the Council of Pisa, which had been transferred to Milan, solemnly deposed the Pope. This was in fact the last decree of that Council, and Louis XII power was too much reduced to give it any effect. The Council followed the retreat of the French army, which was recalled across the mountains through fear of the English King.

Julius II was now enabled to triumph in peace. La Palice had but a handful of men to defend the Milanese, while fresh troops had just disembarked from Spain, and, finally, the Council of Pisa was in flight. It was under these happy conditions that the opening of the fifth General Council of the Lateran took place, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May, 1512, the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross. *Ægidio di Viterbo*, the General of the Augustinians, one of the most saintly and distinguished preachers of that time, delivered the sermon, in which he praised the Pontiff for his administration, justice, and conquests, and gave a heart-rending description of the state of Italy.

"Who among us", he cried, "can behold without tears and bitter sorrow our fields more drenched with human blood than they are with water from heaven! All the Christian world looks to you and implores your protection; nothing but a Council will be able to stay the deluge of misery which floods and destroys it."

Julius II was only able to preside at the first sessions of this Council. He had attained the age of seventy one, and his great energy had undermined his strength. At the beginning of February 1513 he was seized with a burning fever, and died in a fortnight full of resignation and devotion. The election of his successor occupied his last moments. With that view he had drawn up a decree to prevent simony or party factions. Moreover he forbade the admission of the schismatic Cardinals of Pisa to the Conclave. "As Giuliano della Rovere, we pardon them," said he, "but as Pope Julius, Head of the Church, we must see that justice should take its course."

Instead of giving our own opinion of Julius II pontificate we will quote the Protestant historian Roscoe:— "His vigorous and active mind corresponded with the restless spirit of the times, and his good fortune raised him to an eminence from which he looked down upon the proudest sovereigns of the earth. His ambition was not, however, the passion of a grovelling mind, nor were the advantages which he sought to obtain of a temporary or personal nature. To establish the authority of the Holy See throughout Europe, to recover the dominions of the Church, to expel all foreign powers, or, as they were then called, barbarians, from Italy, and to restore that country to the dominion of its native princes, were the vast objects of his comprehensive mind." (1)

(1) *Life and Pontificate of Leo X*, Vol. II, p. 152.

Audin states, "Julius II towered above all the crowned heads of his age, as the dome of S. Peter's dominates the spires of other churches. He had one object, one plan, one idea: the deliverance of his country which he wished to save from invasion. Do not speak of his ambition: was it not sanctified by its object, which he was to attain in spite of the fever which held him back . . . in spite of the turbulent uprising of the Romans . . . in spite of the oath which was engraved by order of Louis XII on gold coins cast at Milan, whereon the fate of Rome was described: 'Perdam Babylonis nomen'?"

Louis XII called Julius II a drunkard, although the aged Pontiff only drank water, and his meals lasted the space of a Pater and Ave! Although strong-willed, he was naturally timid. Paris de Grassis relates that he spoke as nervously as a trembling scholar before his master, and that he repeated and corrected his phrases two or three times over. (1) But this hesitation was only in words, never in thought; the principal characteristic of his genius was in fact his rapidity of conception; his genius embraced all things, art and letters no less than religion and politics.— He used to say: "The fine arts are silver to the people, gold to the nobles, and diamonds to Princes." (2)

With respect to the fine arts we may remember that, when only a Cardinal, he summoned Giuliano

(1) "Nam ipse ita timide dicebat, sicut puer sub disciplina pædagogi tremebundus facere solet, et aliquandò verba imperfecta ac bis ac tertio corripiebat."

(2) "Le belle lettere sono argento pei non nobili, ore pei nobili, diamanti pei principi."

di San-Gallo, one of the great artists who diffused Florentine art throughout Europe, and bade him build the citadel of Ostia and the palace of S. Pietro-in-vincoli; but Bramante was preferred to him, because Julius discovered him to be as enthusiastic as himself, possessing that passionate ardour, boldness, that "terribilità", as Vasari calls it, which stamps works of art with incomparable grandeur of style.

Bramante came to Rome for the Jubilee of 1500, and gave himself up to the study of antiquity; like Donatello and Brunelleschi, he was often to be seen wandering among the ruins of the Forum, and what was left of the villas of Tibur, digging, measuring, comparing all these remains, living witnesses of ancient art. His first works at Rome were the portico of S. Maria-della-Pace and some paintings in the Lateran Basilica, as for instance the armorial bearings of Alexander VI. Like Leonardo da Vinci, Bramante had an aptitude for every art. Poetical feeling pervaded all his work; whether he were designing the rotunda of S. Pietro-in-Montorio, or conceiving the gigantic proportions of the Vatican Basilica, or, again, lyre in hand, improvising verses which, though they have not been as long lived as his name, were greatly applauded at the time.

When Julius became his patron, the genius of Bramante produced wonders. Now an amphitheatre was built for public games (1); then a vast niche

(1) This amphitheatre no longer exists; it has been removed to make way for the transversal addition to the Vatican Library.

appeared surrounded by a circular gallery, on the summit of the Vatican Hill, in sight of the dwelling of the Pontiffs; then a continuation of noble buildings united the Belvedere with the palace, of which Vasari remarks, "nothing so majestic had been seen since ancient times." (1) Ere long on the Janiculum, the traditional site of S. Peter's martyrdom, rose a peripteral temple whose slender graceful form rivalled the happiest inspiration of the architects of ancient Greece. Finally, warming to their work, they resumed the project of Nicholas V, and, in spite of opposition raised by a few Cardinals and of the veneration of Christians for Constantine's revered church, that holy spot sanctified by the burial of so many saints and Bishops, a plan was shortly drawn up for a magnificent new Basilica. (2)

The design once approved of, notwithstanding its vastness, was immediately put into execution. Half the ancient building was so quickly demolished that a great number of paintings, statues, mosaics, and tombs, sacred on account of Pontiffs who slept within them, where buried beneath the ruins. The Pope

(1) "Life of Bramante."

(2) The opposition Julius II met with from those around him, when he wished to rebuild S. Peter's, is thus recorded by Panvinus:— *Quâ in re adversos penè habuit cunctorum hominum ordines et præsertim cardinales, non quod novam non cuperent basilicam magnificentissimam extrui, sed quia antiquam toto terrarum orbe venerabilem, tot sanctorum sepulchris augustissimam, tot celeberrimis in ea gestis insignem, funditus deleri ingemiscant.*" See Ranke's "History of the Papacy".

laid the first stone of this building on the 18<sup>th</sup> of April 1506, and indulgences were granted to all who desired by their alms to aid in its construction. In the words of Michael Angelo, Bramante's design was simple, plain, and unconstrained. Bramante adopted the proportions of the Latin cross, and the façade was to have been surmounted by two campanili. He was the first who dared to propose a dome equal in size to that of the Pantheon, a dome which should, in its height and grace, surpass Brunelleschi's beautiful masterpiece, that of S. Maria-dei-Fiore. The pillars of the dome were rapidly completed, the arches were already curved, when death summoned the great artist away. He died almost simultaneously with Julius II, so that neither was able to do more than rough cast their work.

As Bramante lay on his death bed, surrounded by artists, Cardinals, and even the Pope himself, he designated for his successor Raphael of Urbino, his relative and friend, whose genius he had revealed to the Roman Court.

When quite young, Raphael had studied under Pietro Perugino, and his refined and delicate touch so exactly reproduced his master's style as to deceive even the best judges. At that time Florence was the privileged city of the fine arts, and its inhabitants were then keenly interested in the famous competition between Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo. Raphael also wished to witness this marvellous struggle. This journey wrought a marked change in him. He felt himself inspired by the warmth of Leonardo da Vinci's style, and by the brilliant co-



louring of Fra Bartolomeo; so he perfected himself in the technical part of his art; without, however, losing that purity of conception which is the chief charm of his work. (1) Summoned to Rome by Bramante, who wished him to share the good graces of Julius II, he was led by the Pope into the Segnatura Hall, and commissioned to decorate one of the walls. (2) Then what has been most improperly called the "Dispute on the Blessed Sacrament" appeared. This painting represents a group of the doctors of the Church, SS. Augustine, Jerome, Dominic, Thomas, Bonaventure (Raphael did not hesitate to place Dante and Savonarola among them) praying, speaking, and discussing about the Holy of Holies beneath the spotless Host. The scene is laid partly in Heaven and partly on earth. In Heaven, Christ is represented with the celestial hierarchy, consisting of the Virgin, the patriarchs, the apostles, and the early martyrs; on earth, the divine Eucharist is surrounded by all those doctors who have spoken of it with the greatest eloquence and love.

Julius II was so impressed by this speaking composition that he at once gave orders for the removal of works by other artists in order to make room for Raphael; only one by Perugino was spared at Raphael's

(1) Raphael executed his best pictures while staying at Florence; for instance, *La bella Giardiniera*, *La Madonna del Cardellino*, *La Madonna di Canigiani*, *La Madonna del Baldacchino*, *La Madonna del Duca d'Alba*, etc. See M. Rio's work, chap. VIII.

(2) Raphael's house still exists at Rome; it is No. 124 Via Coronari.

request, he having preserved the greatest respect for the talent of his old master.

It is impossible adequately to describe the treasures with which the palace of the Popes was to be enriched. Raphael did not spare himself, but multiplied the works of his genius. Two of his young pupils assisted him, and were even already allowed to place their names to some portions of his magnificent labours. The master-mind directed their work; Giulio Romano painted dresses, and probably designed some of the figures; Fattore, and Giovanni d'Udine, undertook the arabesques, Fra Giovanni di Verona the lights and shades of the doors and panelling which were intended to complete the decoration of these splendid halls. But Raphael relied on his own genius for the conception and direction of everything. In one place he represented the School of Athens, in which are seen his fine heads of Plato, Diogenes, Aristotle, and most of the ancient philosophers, among whom the features of Perugino and Bramante might be recognised, and at some distance his own, beneath a black cap, in their full bloom of youth and beauty. Elsewhere, Parnassus, grander than in mythology, where Homer is represented singing, Petrarch sighing, Sappho grieving, Boccaccio rejoicing; the garlands, flowers, soft atmosphere, and peaceful faces, make it a veritable counterpart of the Elysian Fields. Another of his paintings depicts Heliodorus being driven from the Temple; another the sacred Host being tinged with blood in the hands of an unbelieving priest. In all there are twenty subjects, each a poem of harmony and grandeur.

It is true that in the "School of Athens" the mystic inspiration of Benozzo Gozzoli and of Fra Angelico may be wanting; the spectator will find therein not only perfection of beauty and realistic representation of passion, which belong rather to earth than heaven, but also pagan influences and naturalism which led to pure ideas being abandoned in favour of portraits and types which by turns were used to represent either Diana or the Madonna.

It was during the nine years of Julius II pontificate that Raphael painted two of the Vatican halls; but Michael Angelo only required two years to produce the grand biblical scenes on the roof of the Sistine Chapel.

Michael Angelo was only twenty years of age when he first came to Rome under the auspices of Cardinal di S. Giorgio, who had magnificently restored the church of S. Lorenzo-in-Damaso, and who loved to collect men of learning and talent in his palace and gardens which overlooked the Tiber. (1) The young sculptor was proud, silent, and thoughtful, holding himself aloof from society; consequently he was not understood. At first he remained unknown, making outlines which the Cardinal's barber coloured; but the originality of his works ended by revealing his genius. For one person he fashioned a Cupid

(1) Riario was the Cardinal di S. Giorgio. Erasmus's letters tell us his palace was near the Tiber; but he probably means that the river could be seen from his gardens. It is most likely that the Cardinal dwelt in the Corsini palace on the Lungara, at that time the Riario palace, which had been built by Sixtus IV nephew.

after the antique, for another a Bacchus wearing the skin of Marsyas and holding a bunch of grapes in his hand which a little satyr tries to eat. Cardinal d'Amboise desired to leave some monument of his good taste and generosity at Rome, and he commissioned Michael Angelo to execute that fine group of the Pietà which still remains at S. Peter's. The artist had heard that a block of Carrara marble was to be given by the magistracy at Florence to the ablest sculptor, and he determined to assert his right and supremacy. (1) He therefore set out for that city, where he sculptured his David, drew his wonderful cartoon of the Pisan war, and made the name of Buonarroti more exalted and renowned than that of any prince. To no one else would Julius II entrust the construction of his tomb, or the decoration of the Sistine Chapel. More than half the Piazza S. Pietro was encumbered with marble, awaiting life from his chisel; and a drawbridge united the dwellings of the Pontiff and artist that they might converse at ease in the privacy of his studio.

Julius II and Michael Angelo were much alike in character; zealous, with wills that brooked no opposition. One day the door of the papal apartments not being immediately thrown open at the summons of the artist, he said, "If his Holiness has any orders for me, let them be sent to me elsewhere than in Rome." Thereupon he left the city, and it needed

(1) This block of marble had been spoiled by Simone di Fiesole, who had endeavoured to make a giant out of it; it had for long lain in the public square as useless for any purpose.

three letters and ambassadors to bring him back again. Even the conversation between these two great men often became a struggle for mastery, in which repartee, sometimes of a bitter kind, was ever ready. "When will you have that fresco finished?" the Pope once asked him. The artist replied, "When I can". "When you can!" cried Julius, "do you wish that I should give orders to have you flung headlong from the scaffolding?" Michael Angelo did not reply; but shutting himself up in his studio he refused admittance to everybody not even excepting the Pope. It was in this solitude that his genius acquired fresh vigour by meditation. (1)

Meanwhile the populace, becoming impatient, thronged around the Vatican, eager to behold the great master-piece; even the Pope uttered threats; and, when Michael Angelo at last opened his door, no one waited for either the scaffolding or dust to be removed, but Pope, Cardinals, people, all Rome in fact, rushed in alike.

Great feverish excitement existed in the sixteenth century; a yearning after what was beautiful and unknown predisposed man to enthusiasm. The dull realities of life disappeared before creations of genius and poetry of thought. While Bramante was occupied in raising the Basilica of S. Peter, Raphael in painting the Dispute about the Blessed Sacrament, and Michael

(1) On All Saints Day 1512 Michael Angelo completed the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel. He was paid for them the sum of three thousand crowns. The "Last Judgment" must not be included among these frescoes, for the first idea of that originated with Clement VII.

Angelo sculpturing the Moses or painting frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, two French workmen, Claude and Guillaume de Marseille, were ornamenting the Vatican, S. Maria-dell'-Anima, and S. Maria-del-Popolo, with stained glass windows. At the same time excavations were prolific at Rome; thousands of buried treasures, arabesques, cameos, statues, and medals were unearthed. When Lucretia's statue was discovered, Cardinal Giovanni di Medici, like Pindar at the Olympic games, seized his lyre and improvised iambics in honour of the chaste Roman matron. (1) Felix de Fredis was rewarded with a share in the tolls of Porta di S. Giovanni Laterano for finding the Laocoon; and, when orders were given to transport that group, as well as the Apollo and the Venus, to the Belvedere, Rome was overjoyed; flowers were strewn before the statues, and amid acclamations from the populace the Laocoon was borne in triumph from the Baths of Titus to the Vatican, while Sadoleti composed sonnets for the occasion. (2)

It is not surprising that amid such lively impressions men turned their thoughts affectionately to the past, with which they compared the present artistic productions, so that even mythological language re-

- (1) "Libenter occumbo, mea in præcordia  
Adactum habens ferrum, juvat mea manu," etc.
- (2) "Ecce alto terræ e tumulo ingentisque ruinæ  
Visceribus iterum reducem longinque reduxit  
Laocoonta dies" . . . .

Sadoleti similarly honoured the discovery of the statue of Curtius.

appeared with the pagan idols. Forgetful of sorrow they drowned dull care in merry feastings with Cardinal Riario in his palace on the banks of the Tiber, or with Agostino Chigi who regaled his guests with parrots' tongues served in silver dishes, which were afterwards flung into the river. At other times they met as the guests of a hospitable German named Goritz, whose palace resembled an academy, or they resorted to Colicci, a noted antiquarian, who had excavated many vases, inscriptions, and ancient statues which had formerly adorned Sallust's gardens.

Even morals were based on those of ancient Rome, and the sensuality and effeminacy which prevailed appeared to have become a necessity of life. Literary meetings were nearly always flavoured with poetic gallantry. Very often during the beautiful Imperia's toilette, whose apartment was strewn with Greek and Latin authors, such men as Filippo Beroaldo, Pomponius Lætus, and even Sadoleti whom Erasmus called "the honour of our age", "*eximium hujus ætatis decus*", met together. Such luxury reigned in Imperia's dwelling, such rich decorations and furniture, that one day a Spanish ambassador spat in the face of one of her servants, impudently excusing himself by the remark that he found no other place for so doing. (1) When Imperia died at the age of twenty-six her friends were not ashamed to inscribe upon her tomb the name which consigned her to infamy:— "Here lies Imperia, a Roman courtesan, who, worthy of her

(1) Matteo Bandello, "Novelle", part I, nov. 42.

great name, was a model of perfect beauty to the world." (1)

It was a strange form of wickedness to behold this society, still calling itself Christian, daily steeping itself more and more in the manners, customs, and even phraseology of paganism. The Latin tongue became the object of a most scrupulous and minute study in the sixteenth century. Cicero, in particular, was in request; his works were fully commentated, efforts were made to reproduce the quantity and cadence of his periods, and no word was tolerated which had not received its passport by having been quoted in the orations either against Verres or Catiline (2). Christendom became the "Christian Republic"; the Sacred College, the Senate; heresy, sedition; faith was called persuasion; Divine Grace, the magnificence of the divinity; excommunication, interdiction from fire and water. God was no longer mentioned; He

(1) "*Imperia, cortisana Romana, quæ digna tanto nomine, raræ inter homines formæ specimen dedit. Vixit annos XXVI, dies XII, obiit 1511, die 15 Augusti.*" This tomb no longer exists.

(2) Erasmus wittily ridiculed this mania in his "*Ciceroniana*". He sketches for us the Ciceronian dining off ten grapes and three coriander seeds in sugar syrup in the seclusion of a sanctuary, the outlets of which were tightly closed with plaster or pitch. There he spends his days analysing Cicero, and applying all the forms of his language to the conventional phrases for the every day occurrences of life. He draws up gigantic lexicons of Ciceronian words, locutions, tropes, epiphonema, even for Cicero's thoughts, sentences, and jokes; each of these lexicons being four times larger than all the works of the Latin orator put together.



gave way to the gods! Thus they carried their folly to the extent of blasphemy.

"Can it really be believed," cries Erasmus, "that if Tully returned to the light of day, under the influence of our religion, he would find the name of God the Father less eloquent than Jupiter optimus, maximus? the title of the Catholic Church less glorious than Conscript Fathers, Quirites, Senate and People of Rome? No, he too would say with us: the faith in Jesus Christ, he too would speak of infidels, the Paraclete, the Divine Spirit, the Holy Trinity." (1)

Now, it was not only poets and learned men who indulged in this affected language; while Sanazaro introduced all the deities of fable, Apollo, Proteus, Nymphs, Dryads, Hamadryads, into the sublime scene of the stable of Bethlehem, the clergy, preaching from the pulpit of truth, made use of the same mythological expressions, and worked themselves up from examples nearly always borrowed from ancient history. Erasmus described a sermon he once heard at Rome, during the pontificate of Julius II:— "I had been invited a few days beforehand by some learned men to listen to this sermon.— Take care not to miss it, they said, for you will at length understand what harmony there is in the Roman tongue when spoken by a Roman mouth.— So, with great curiosity, I went to the church, getting a place near the orator in order not to lose even one of his words. Julius II himself was present, a very unusual thing, probably on account of his

(1) Tome I of Froben's edition, 1540, p. 836.

health. There were also present a great many Cardinals and Bishops, and in the crowd were most of the men of letters who were then in Rome. The exordium and the peroration were nearly as lengthy as the rest of the discourse, and they all rang the changes in praise of Julius II. He was the all-powerful Jupiter, brandishing the trident and the thunderbolt in his right hand, and accomplishing the greatest designs by a mere movement of his eye-brow. All that had taken place of late years in Gaul, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Africa, and Greece, were but the results of this simple action of his will; then came, a hundred times repeated, such words as Rome, Romans, Roman mouth, Roman eloquence, etc. The orator's design was to represent to us Jesus Christ, at first in the agony of His Passion, and then in all the glory of His Triumph. He recalled Curtius and Decius who had devoted themselves to the gods for the salvation of the Republic; he reminded us of Cecrops, Menœceus, Iphigenia, and other noble victims who had valued their lives less than the happiness and honour of their country. Public gratitude at least (he went on in tears with a most profoundly lugubrious voice, "*valde lugubriter*"), had always surrounded these noble and generous characters with its homage; sometimes raising gilt statues to their memory in the Forum, at times decreeing them even divine honours; while Jesus Christ, for all his benefits, had received no other reward but death. The orator then compared the Saviour, who deserved well of his country, to Phocion and to Socrates, who were compelled to drink hemlock, though accused of

no crime; to Epaminondas driven to defend himself against the envy excited by his great deeds; to Scipio, and to Aristides, whom the Athenians were tired of hearing called the Just . . . I ask you, can anything colder or more inept be imagined! Yet over it I can assure you he sweated blood and water in his efforts to rival Cicero. In short, my Roman preacher spoke Roman so well that I heard nothing about the death of Jesus Christ.” (1)

It was in the midst of this world, modelled after that of ancient times, that Cardinal Giovanni di Medici had grown up. He was one of the most distinguished members of the sacred College, and the unanimous choice of the Cardinals fell upon him when it became necessary to elect a successor to Julius II. LEO X, for such was the designation of the new Pontiff, possessed every quality which could endear the Roman sovereign to his subjects. He was affable and generous like all the Medici, of moral purity worthy of the early Christians; equally accessible to all; if he lacked the genius of Julius II, he was also without his stiffness and domineering will. He pleased all by his gentle disposition, and no one feared him.

The education Leo X received in his father's palace was one of Attic character, as might be expected when that father was Lorenzo the Magnificent. Demetrius Chalcondylas and Petrus Ægineta, two Greek refugees, instructed him in their language; Politian taught him the “language of the gods”, which

(1) “*Dialogus Ciceronianus*”, tom. I. Froben's edition, 1540, pp. 832 and 833.

he spoke correctly and with grace; Bernardo Dovizi, afterwards famous as Cardinal Bibbiena, taught him knowledge of the world and graceful manners, both of which were easily acquired by the pupil. Lorenzo's court was the centre of a sensual and refined society; both virtue and pleasure were esteemed; Lorenzo alternately sang hymns to God, love songs to beauty, and related broad stories to his boon companions.

Such a Pontiff was naturally welcomed enthusiastically by all the literati and by the whole Roman population. Therefore the heartiest acclamations resounded far and wide when the senior Cardinal-deacon, opening the Conclave window, solemnly announced, "I bring you good tidings; we have a Pope, the very reverend Lord Giovanni di Medici, Cardinal-deacon of S. Maria-in-Dominica, who is called Leo X." (1) Thereupon the people, clergy, and nobility immediately cried out, "Long live Leo X!" and "Palle! Palle!" the war-cry and arms of the Medici (2); bonfires blazed, and the explosion of a thousand bombs replied to the cannon of the Castle of S. Angelo.

A splendid scaffolding was erected for the ceremony of his enthronement on the steps of S. Peter's Basilica, with this inscription:— "*Litteratorum præsidio ac bonitatis fautori.*" The new reign was welcomed as the dawn of an era of peace and clemency, which should calm down the passions produced by the

(1) *Gaudium magnum nuntio vobis, Papam habemus, reverendissimum dominum Johannem de Medicis, diaconum Cardinalem Sanctæ Mariæ-in-Dominicâ, qui vocatur Leo X.*

(2) "*Palla*" = a ball, or bolus. The boluses on the Medici arms were in canting allusion to their name. (Note by translator.)

long wars during the sovereignty of Julius II; men hoped it would herald in a period of prosperity which should develop all that tends to raise the character, intelligence, knowledge, talent, and virtue of mankind. Religion alone sounded a solemn note amid popular adulation: when the master of the ceremonies, preceding the Pontiff to the Apostle's throne, stopped now and then to light wicks made of tow at the top of a long reed, and cried:— "Holy Father, thus passes away the glory of the world." "*Sic transit gloria mundi.*" (1)

But it was on the day when Leo X took possession of the Lateran that public rejoicing broke out with unusual splendour. The two families of Orsini and Colonna marched side by side in token of union, accompanied by their banners and bright rich liveries; they were followed by the Conti, the Savelli, and by all the flower of Roman aristocracy. The Florentines had come in crowds to join in the homage paid to their countrymen; some were nobles, like the Ricasoli, the Tornabuoni, the Martelli, the Soderini, others were rich merchants, who had not forgotten the

(1) This was not a new custom; it had in fact been for long part of the solemn symbolical ceremonies of the Church:— "And he being seated on the aforementioned throne", says Monstrelet, speaking of Pope John XXIII, "having about and around him the Cardinals of Viviers, of Chalant, of Milot, and of Spain, . . . all of them carrying tow and fire, who while lighting the tow said to the Pope:— 'Holy Father, thus passes away the glory of the world', this was done and said three times, each time blowing out and relighting the flame." "*Chroniques*", Book I, chap. LXVIII.

Medici's former calling, and who were themselves already renowned, such as the Altoviti, the Borgarini, the Gaddi. As the procession moved onwards, brocaded hose, velvet mantles, and nodding plumes abounded. Immediately preceding the Pontiff the tabernacle containing the Holy Eucharist was borne upon an ambling white horse, overshadowed by a canopy, and surrounded by a numerous guard. Leo rode the grey charger which had carried him at the battle of Ravenna, the bridle being held by the Dukes of Urbino and Ferrara. All the streets through which he was to pass were hung with tapestry; the windows displayed shields; cross-roads and squares were splendidly decorated with inscriptions and triumphal arches, all the poetry of mythology and of the Bible having been brought into requisition for the purpose. Here Apollo might be seen lyre in hand, and on his shoulders the skin of Marsyas; elsewhere appeared the Seasons, the Muses, and nymphs, several of whom addressed the Pontiff. On all sides were to be seen the heraldic boluses of the Medici, and gigantic lions surrounded with clever devices. The lion (Leo) was represented both in his masterful strength, and then in a gentle mood, licking a hand that had extracted a thorn from his foot. The triumphal arch of the Florentine merchants was surrounded by columns supporting gilt statues of SS. Peter and Paul, SS. Cosmo and Damian, the patron saints of the Medici, and of S. John, the patron saint of Florence. The inscription on the architrave was in harmony with this pious and magnificent decoration; it was the quotation from Scripture:— "*Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*", "God is admirable in His saints."

On this occasion the wealthy Chigi distinguished himself as he always did in everything where art and money were concerned. The theatre which rose in front of his palace was packed with representatives of all nations, white, brown, and black; among them appeared statues of Venus, Mars, and Minerva, a quaint allusion to the three pontificates of Alexander VI, Julius II and Leo X. The inscription that accompanied them ran:— "Venus has had her day, Mars his, to-day Minerva begins her reign." Antonio di San-Marino, who lived near Chigi, immediately replied by placing over his shop a solitary statue of Venus, with the legend:— "Mars has reigned, Minerva reigns, but Venus shall always reign." (1) These theatrical decorations were certainly more appropriate to a pagan festival than to a Christian solemnity. However, on this occasion, all the inscriptions recorded the pacific character and love for study which were characteristic of the Medici. All these praises were in honour of the generous, amiable Prince, the friend of peace and art; for under him people looked forward to a golden age, and said with Chigi:— "Vive piè ut solitus, vive diù ut meritus".

The advent of Leo X gave new life to both art and learning. Men recalled the gracious welcome he used to give to persons of merit when a Cardinal, and the learned and refined receptions in his palace on the Piazza Navona. Crowds of admirers, therefore,

(1) A detailed account of this festival has been published under the title:— "*Cronica delle magnifiche e honorabili pompe fatte in Roma per la creatione e incoronatione di papa Leone X, pont. opt. max.*" It may be found in Roscoe's proofs and illustrations.

now flocked to Rome, with poems, ancient manuscripts, or sonnets in praise of the Pontiff. Antonio Tebaldeo received fifty ducats for such a sonnet; the first five books of the "Annales" of Tacitus, which had just been discovered in a Westphalian Abbey, obtained a reward of five hundred sequins for Angelo Arcomboldo; and Leo at once ordered Filippo Beroaldo to publish an edition of it. At the same time Sadoleti and Bembo were appointed apostolic secretaries; Bernardo Dovizi was promised a Cardinal's hat; Marsilio Ficino was provided with a canonry at Florence; in fact, everyone received some token of remembrance or esteem. The poet Augurelli was, however, an exception; he only received an empty purse for his poem *Chrysopœia*, or the art of making gold, which he had dedicated to Leo X, the Pontiff archly remarking, "An empty purse is all I can venture to offer to so clever a man as you are."

That matchless, cynical, jesting poet, Ludovico Ariosto, the author of *Orlando Furioso*, was not among the laggards in welcoming the new reign. He had made a brief appearance in Rome during Julius II pontificate, as the Duke of Ferrara's ambassador, but the Pope's anger at the Duke's alliance with the French vented itself upon the diplomatist; Julius actually threatened to have him thrown into the Tiber if he did not leave the city. Now, however, that the friend of Bembo and Bibbiena was on the throne, Ariosto dreamt of wealth and fame. Ariosto thought he possessed sufficient talent to ensure a welcome at Leo X court. So he came to Rome, deploring his mother's fecundity, which, in giving him nine brothers



and sisters, had obliged him to wander from palace to palace, "plying a frog's tradé". (1) He was an old friend of Leo's, having been well acquainted with him at the time the Medici were exiled from Florence; Leo then treated him as a brother, according to Ariosto's account, (2) and he adds that the Pontiff never repudiated the old cordiality of the Cardinal. In fact, on presenting himself at the Pope's audience, Leo took him by the hand and embraced him; and, if we may believe Simeoni, he gave him several hundred crowns wherewith to print his poem. (3) What casts a doubt upon this, however, is that Ariosto himself is silent about this generous act; he only mentions a Bull that was sent to him as part payment of his expenses. This Bull was directed against the pirates of the "Orlando", and secured the copyright of his work to the poet. (4) Ariosto had expected more; so in his disappointment he revenged himself by

(1) Sat. III.

(2)           Mi disse, ch'al bisogno mai non era  
              Per far da me al fratel suo differenza.

(3) Più centinaja di scudi. (See Mazzuchelli, Art. on Ariosto.

(4) Bayle and Richardson have asserted that this Bull excommunicated all who ventured to criticise Ariosto's works. By making this statement they prove that neither of them ever read it. It is simply a permission to print the "Orlando", and Ariosto never took it as meaning anything else. It is true that this Bull, drawn up by the fluent Bembo, praises the talents of Ariosto, his graceful poetry, genius, and the refinement of his taste in both fine arts and letters, "egregiaque bonarum artium litterarumque doctrina"; but that is far from being the solemn sanction attributed to Leo X. See the Brief "Singularis tua" in Bembo's works, book X, ep. XL.

writing a bitter satire against the morals of the pontifical court.

One of Leo's first considerations on ascending the throne was to summon the accomplished scholar Lascaris to Rome, in order to revive the study of the Greek tongue and literature. Lascaris was a very learned emigrant from Constantinople, and the universities of Italy and France vied with each other to secure him as a teacher. He responded to the Pope's call, and established an academy and printing-press for Greek works on the Esquiline; he was greatly assisted in his labours by the talent and fame of Marco Musurus, the distinguished editor of Plato.

The great Roman university, La Sapienza, which had been founded by Boniface VIII, endowed by Eugenius IV, enlarged by Alexander VI, now resumed the high position it had lost for a time under Julius II. It is in the protection afforded to letters that the pontificate of Leo X most distinguishes itself from that of his predecessor. Julius, who was so liberal to artists, and who compared letters to gold and diamonds, none the less always found his coffers empty when it was a question of rewarding a writer; so the ill-paid professors betook themselves to Mantua and Naples. They were now recalled by Leo, who increased their number to one hundred, placed Beroaldo at their head, and gave orders that no festival should interfere with their lectures. For the convenience of students, classes were held both morning and evening; the study of Eastern languages was encouraged, and several new professorships were

founded. Among these we may particularly mention that of botany as applied to medicine. In the thirteenth century Pope John XXI had written a small book containing simple prescriptions; it was called "The Treasury of the Poor": Leo X now completed this work by creating a Chair of Botany, and by making the distribution of remedies gratuitous.

It is difficult to mention all the learned men who shared in the liberality of this Pontiff. Without a doubt, one of the most worthy was Vida, Virgil's countryman, who had acquired by the banks of the Mantuan lake the secret of beautiful language and those pure traditions of the Latin tongue, so eagerly sought after by all learned men of the sixteenth century. His "Poetic Art", his "Bombyx", his "Game of Chess", were the delight of intellectual persons. Leo X took pleasure in reading his works; he revelled in every word, in every period; the writer's delicacy, the freshness of his ideas, his versatility, and his melody, all seemed so remarkable that Leo was tempted to look upon them as flowing from divine inspiration, "*mens divinior; divino aliquo mentis instinctu*". (1) He induced Vida to undertake his "Christiad", and then nominated him Bishop.

Under Leo X, the Vatican halls were crowded with historians, litterati, and particularly with poets.

(1) Tabelli, "Orat. de Vidâ".

Vida records the enjoyment Leo X experienced in reading his verses:—

"Leo jam carmina nostra  
Ipse libens relegebat: ego illi carus et auctus  
Muneribusque, opibusque, honoribusque insignitus."

Valerianus exclaims, "The unfortunate flock of poets follows him from door to door, now beneath the porticoes, now in his walk, sometimes in the palace, sometimes they penetrate even to his private room, 'penetralibus in imis'; they neither respect his rest, nor the weighty affairs which daily press upon him, now that the world is ablaze." (1) Among the crowd might be seen Berni, the burlesque writer; Flaminio, the elegiac poet; Molza, Petrarch's child; Postumo; Maroni; Cateromachus; Fedra Inghirami, the accomplished librarian; and the great light of Arezzo, "the unique Accolti", as Ariosto calls him.

Throughout the sixteenth century Accolti enjoyed a reputation which posterity has not confirmed. He was designated the celestial. On the announcement that he was to recite his verses, shops were closed as if for a festival, and all flocked to hear him. The most distinguished prelates sat around him, a bodyguard of Swiss troops accompanied him, and the auditorium was illuminated by torches. (2) One day when Accolti entered the palace the pope exclaimed:—"Open all the doors, and allow the crowd free ingress." Accolti then recited a "ternale" to the Virgin, and, when he ended, a storm of acclamations rent the air of "Long live the divine poet; long live the in-

(1) Viden' ut turba importuna poetæ . . .

(Poëmata varia, p. 57.)

(2) Roscoe takes these details from Pietro Aretino's letters, Book I, p. 141.

comparable Accolti!" Leo was the first to applaud, and the Duchy of Nepi was the poet's reward. (1)

Paolo Giovio, called by Rabelais "l'homme aux ouïdires" (the tatler), on reading portions of his history, was saluted by Leo X with the title of the Italian Titus Livius. All this encouragement, bestowed with tact and intelligence, produced fruit a hundred-fold, and turned Rome into one vast museum or academy filled with music, science, poetry, and the fine arts. At this court shone Calcagnini, who had already discovered the earth's rotation (2); Ambrogio di Pisa, who could speak Chaldean and Arabic; Valerianus, a philologist, an archæologist, and a jurisconsul, who relieved his more serious work by writing poetry worthy of Horace. We may imagine what pleasure Erasmus experienced in this choice society which, in the phrase of Cardinal Riario, made Rome "the native land, the pedestal, the inspiration of genius". Leo X received Erasmus as a friend; even desiring to see him often in affectionate familiarity. Following the Pope's example, Cardinals eagerly sought out the

(1) It is unfortunate for Accolti's fame that this "ternale" has been handed down to us, for it is a clear proof of the blind enthusiasm which existed even in the most enlightened ages. What a conglomeration of conceits in the following lines:—!

"Quel generasti di cui concepisti,  
Portasti quel di cui fosti fattura,  
E di te nacque quel di cui nascesti."

(2) "Prima che Coperni pubblicasse il suo sistema, Calcagnini scrisse e divulgò un libro in cui si fa a provare quod coelum stet, terra autem moveatur". (Tiraboschi, t. VII, b. II.)

philosopher, particularly the Cardinals of Nantes, Grimani, Bologna, and S. Giorgio whose palace was the home of good taste and hospitality. Erasmus has almost exhausted the resources of the Latin tongue in recording the impressions he experienced; graceful ease of manners, charming conversations, choice eloquence, and friendly advice were what most delighted him, and made him forget alike Freiburg, Basle, London, and that pile of letters from every land which twice a year awaited him at Frankfurt. "Had I not torn myself away from Rome", he wrote, "I could never have left her. I had to use violence to my feelings to escape from her; and I rather fled than came to England . . . The remembrance of the incomparable delights of Rome never presents itself to my thoughts but I am tormented with a desire to see once more that city, the most renowned of all cities, the light and theatre of the world! What delightful freedom, what rich libraries, what learning among her men of letters, what frank cordiality in their manners! Where can be found so many societies devoted to literature, so many monuments of ancient days? Where else, in one spot, can be found so numerous a gathering of all the geniuses of the earth?" (1)

Erasmus often dwells on these recollections in his correspondence, reproducing them in nearly the same words, so deeply were they engraved in his memory. "Give us back Lethe, if you wish that I should ever

(1) Tome III, p. 38, Froben's edition, 1540.

forget Rome", he wrote to the Cardinal of Nantes, one of his ancient patrons, "*Veteres illos meos Mæcenates*". (1) He regrets everything at Rome; its beautiful sun, its freedom, its walks, its reunions for science and study, that loving protection which was nowhere else to be found.

The letters of Erasmus reveal the remarkable fascination Leo X exerted on those around him. When writing about him Erasmus gives free scope to every form of praise. "As much as man is superior to beast, so far does Leo excel mankind: he resembles a divinity. If the pontifical throne outshines all other thrones, Leo outshines all his predecessors, a much more difficult thing to do." Then he extolls "the Pontiff's incredible humanity, and his perfect gentleness united to an unconquerable spirit"; he speaks of his greatness, nobility, knowledge, the inexpressible charm of his address, his love of peace, and that devotion to the fine arts which cost neither a sigh nor a tear. (2)

It was nevertheless on leaving Rome, and to while away the dullness of a long journey made at the slow pace of a mule, that Erasmus took "to play", as he called it, with his "Praise of Folly", an epigram in

(1) "*Ut urbis liceat oblivisci, quærendus est mihi fluvius aliquis Lethæ.*" The Cardinal of Nantes was called Guibé, and was nephew to the famous Landais, the Duke of Brittany's treasurer.

(2) See his letters to Leo X in Froben's edition, Vol. III. Erasmus carried adulation so far as to see in Leo X all the genius and virtue of the other Leo's who had preceded him on the throne, several of whom were saints.

one volume on the oddities of men, in which neither the Cardinals nor the Pope were forgotten. Erasmus twits them with their luxury which is so "onerous", or rather so "honourable", and with their effeminate laziness which leaves all work to be done by SS. Peter and Paul, who, however, have plenty of time on their hands.

Born in a century of great men, Leo X has left a memory which overshadows that age, and probably this is due rather to the general run of his qualities than to the greatness of his intellect. Francis I was no less a patron of arts and letters than he; but the French King was far from possessing the Pope's calm, reflective, mind in business matters. Charles V was a profound politician; but he lacked that attractive, prepossessing, affability which was a distinctive characteristic of Leo X. In politics his calm demeanour became an additional force, and his prudence never degenerated into weakness.

As a Pontiff, Leo X performed the functions of his sacred ministry with dignity, his piety and his generosity being also remarkable. On Wednesdays he abstained from meat; on Fridays from fish; on Saturdays he scarcely sat down to eat anything. Every-day, moreover, he fasted till the evening. (1) As to

(1) "*Itemque animo verè pudico, die Mercurii carnes non edere, die autem Veneris nihil gustare præter legumen et olera, ac die demùm Saturni cœnâ penitus abstinere incorruptâ lege instituisset.*" (Paolo Giovio, *Vita Leonis X*, lib. IV). "*Ipse quotidie jejunat et serò cœnat,*" *Diar. inedit.*



his morals they remained above suspicion, "extra famam libidinis". (1)

Men dared and said everything in the sixteenth century; ears were deadened to licentious conversation, and eyes were not shocked by nudity. The only thing that can explain the Pope tolerating certain men and certain sights is the temper of the age. Moreover, Leo X had been reared in palaces, and was imbued with their luxurious tastes; he loved distractions and pleasures, music above all, and he indulged in the chase to preserve his health. His father once said to him, "Take plenty of exercise; in your position ill-health comes apace, if you know not how to forestall it." So with him God and prayer came first, after that music, which, in the words of Marsilio Ficino, "heals the mind as theology heals the soul"; he took long walks, made fishing excursions to Lake Bolsena, joined hunting parties at Civita-Vecchia, Toscanella, and in the game-abounding neighbourhood of the Baths of Viterbo.

Although so temperate himself at table, Leo X placed no restriction upon his guests. The meal was sometimes accompanied by music, while the conversation alternated from grave to gay. With the well known taste of the Medici, Leo sought to unite philosophy with merriment, learned dissertations with laughable pleasantries. Among his guests was Querno, an improviser, who had received the whimsical title of archpoet from the Roman Academy, and a wreath composed of vine leaves, cabbage, and laurel. This

(1) Matt. Hercul., apud Fabroni, in. Ad. 84.

ridiculous personage combined drunkenness and vanity, wit and stupidity. While Bandolini improvised verses in praise of SS. Cosmo and Damian, the patron saints of the Medici, and Maroni was singing to the accompaniment of his own viola, or old Nyphus, a philosopher of seventy years, lute in hand, was exciting the merriment of the other guests by his lyric enthusiasm, Leo X and Querno would be attacking one another in satirical verses.

One day Bibbiena conceived the idea of giving a macaronic ovation to one of these professional improvisors, Baraballo of Gaeta, who considered himself to be as great a genius as Petrarch, and who aspired like him to be crowned with laurel at the Capitol. The triumph of Baraballo was announced with a great flourish. It was not, however, on foot like Petrarch that the new laureate was to ascend the Capitol, but mounted on an elephant presented to the Pope by the King of Portugal, and which carried a seat of gold for this ceremony, while the conqueror was attired in a purple robe, bordered with golden palms. These gorgeous preparations filled Baraballo with joy and pride, regardless alike of his white hairs and of the entreaties of his family. When the eventful day arrived, he arrayed himself in a brilliant costume, and, after a banquet at the Vatican, he mounted his gigantic steed. His onward progress was marked and accompanied by shouts, the roll of drums, and the sound of trumpets. This pandemonium alarmed the elephant, who refused either to proceed or retreat, the unlucky hero of the day being compelled to escape on foot from the Bridge of S. Angelo to the palace, amid the

jeering of the populace. This grotesque scene was sculptured by Giovanni Barile on one of the doors of the pontifical apartments. (1)

These details, for which we are indebted to Paolo Giovio, explain that all this was done to amuse a great Prince. Many people considered, however, that it was derogatory to the dignity of a sovereign Pontiff; but these the historian describes as being "austere and disagreeable persons".

Leo X appears in a more noble and worthy light when, from his throne, he gives good counsel to Arsilli or to Valerianus; or when he urges on foreign sovereigns the necessity of a reform in the Calendar, as propounded by Giovanni di Novarra; or when he takes up the defence of the unfortunate Indians, and declares that slavery is not only contrary to religion but to nature, "*non modo religionem sed etiam naturam reclamitare servituti*". Above all, there came a day when he was magnificent. That was when, after exhausting gentleness and charity on Luther's behalf, he suddenly arose, and, invoking the court of Heaven, called upon it to revenge the insult done to God and His Church.

"Rise up, O Lord, and be a judge in Thine own cause; remember the daily insults offered to Thee by foolish men; incline Thine ear to our petition, for foxes are abroad; they seek to destroy Thy vine, which Thou alone hast pressed, that vine which, on

(1) *Cujus triumphi memoriam lignei cælatores . . . interioris pontificii cubiculi foribus scitissime inscriptam reliquere. Jovius, in "Vit. Leon. X".*

ascending to Thy Father, Thou gavest to the guardianship, the care, and administration of Peter, as the Head and Thy Vicar, and to his successors, that it might be a figure of the church triumphant. The wild boar has come from the forest to ravage it, and a savage beast devours it. Arise, O Peter, and watch over the cause of the Holy Roman Church, the mother of all churches, the guide of faith, which has been confided to thee by God, and which, by God's command, thou hast hallowed by thy blood." (1)

The name of Leo X has remained affixed to the sixteenth century, although the reign of that Pontiff only lasted eight years. This arises doubtless as a homage paid to the generous patronage he bestowed on talent. But, if the glory of a Prince consists less in the number than in the importance of monuments which he leaves to posterity, one may wonder why the sixteenth century does not rather bear the title of Julius II. It was Julius II who set Bramante, Raphael, and Michael Angelo to work; it was he who undertook the construction of S. Peter's, of the Vatican Galleries, and of the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, and who opened out the grand Strada Giulia as a communication between Hadrian's Mole and the Campo dei Fiore; the greatest works of Leo X were but the continuation of those his predecessor had commenced.

It has already been stated that Bramante had designated Raphael as his successor in directing the

(1) *Exurge, Domine, et judica causam tuam* . . . This Bull, so remarkable for the beauty and eloquence of its style, was drawn up by Cardinal Accolti. (15 June, 1520.)

works at S. Peter's. This choice was confirmed by Leo X, only he ordered that the painter Giuliano di San-Gallo should assist him, as also the aged Fra Giocondo, who was expert in every branch of architecture.— "My greatest wish," Leo wrote to Raphael, "is to see this Basilica rise quickly and magnificently. I therefore charge you with this new burden; remember your name; it is good for you, while still young, to found your glory upon an indestructible monument. Bear in mind the confidence we place in your talents; the love our father bore you; the dignity and fame of this august temple. There is no other in the whole world which can approach it either for holiness or splendour. Lastly, consider the devotion we should all of us bear to the Prince of the Apostles."

Raphael accepted, and, writing to Count Castiglione, he said:— "Our Holy Father has placed a great load on my shoulders by commissioning me with the reconstruction of S. Peter's; still I hope I shall not sink beneath it. What reassures me, however, is that the model I have made pleases his Holiness, and has gained the approval of many great men. But I have carried my views still higher; I wish to reproduce the beautiful forms of ancient buildings. Will my flight be like that of Icarus? Vitruvius doubtless gives me great light, but not as much as I require." (1)

In order to comply to the utmost with the artist's wishes, Leo X decreed that all persons who dis-

(1) This letter is taken from M. Quatremère de Quincy's work on modern architects.

covered any ancient remains should bring them to Raphael under the penalty of a fine from 100 to 300 golden crowns. These antiquities were generously paid for out of the Pope's privy purse, and eager multitudes at once set to work excavating in search of hidden treasures. Statues of the gods, Emperors' busts, bas-reliefs, marble urns and porphyry vases were then brought pell-mell to S. Peter's Square. At this sight Raphael conceived the idea of reconstructing Rome as she had been at the Augustan period of her history. With some antique capitals he would reconstruct porticoes; entablatures would give him the proportions of ancient temples, and Pliny's writings would point out the site of each theatre, obelisk, and palace. In a letter to Leo he wrote, "It is grievous to contemplate what is almost the corpse of this noble town, once Empress of the world, now so cruelly lacerated. But, since reverence to parents and to one's country is a sacred duty, I feel bound to employ what little strength I possess to preserve a small portion of this picture, some shadow of that universal native-land of Christians, of that city once so powerful that men believed she was above the strokes of fortune or death." (1)

Raphael set to work immediately: the Romans looked upon him as being a divine spirit who was to restore her ancient majesty to the eternal city; but after a brief space death interrupted his labours.

(1) È grandissimo dolore vedendo quasi il cadavero di quella nobile patria che è stata regina del mondo, così miseramente lacerato . . . The whole letter may be seen in Roscoe, Vol. IV, note 211.

Raphael was an architect because he possessed that great fertility of genius which understands and embraces art in its entirety. From his youth his paintings (the "School of Athens" for instance) were remarkable for architectural backgrounds which were treated with that ease and knowledge which study alone can give. It was an era for noble and beautiful buildings. Bramante had restored the purity and majesty of the Greek school; and, though his profiles were somewhat hard and his style rather meagre, these slight defects were daily disappearing and giving place to a harmonious whole. Peruzzi was then designing a plan for the Farnesina, and drawing architectural decorations which even deceived Titian; Giacomo Sansovino was building the Palazzo Strozzi in Banchi, and boldly laying the foundations of S. Giovanni Fiorentino in the very bed of the Tiber; and Antonio di San-Gallo was constructing the church of S. Maria-di-Monserrato, and raising the first double-vaulted cupola that was ever seen in Rome at S. Maria-di-Loreto. In a less magnificent style the Baldassini and Centelli palaces, also by San-Gallo, were fine examples of perfect architectural grace. Such were the competitors against whom Raphael had to contend. His first attempts were stamped with harmony of conception. The finest palaces he produced were the Pandolfini, at Florence, the small Lungara and the Caffarelli near S. Andrea-della-Valle, so remarkable for its double Doric columns and rock-faced basement, at Rome. The splendid court of the Loggie at the Vatican must not be omitted. It had been commenced by Bramante, who had worked with that

energy which characterised him, and which was required by Julius II. The work had scarcely been rough-cast ere it threatened to fall into ruins. It was necessary for Raphael to alter the proportions in order to strengthen the whole, and he did this with admirable skill. Thus the Loggie were built and painted by Raphael, or they were painted by his pupils under his supervision with marvellous celerity. The subjects were Biblical, and are known as Raphael's Bible. They were designed by the master; but Giulio Romano coloured many of them; Perino del Vaga, il Fattore (1), Giovanni d'Udine undertook the stucco work and arabesques; while the pavement came from Florence and was by Luca della Robbia, the celebrated enamel painter. (2)

Among those employed at the Loggie to carry mortar on to the scaffolding was a boy who was greatly struck by the young artists employed by Raphael. This lad felt artistic fire burning within him, but he did not dare to expect any notice from the great man who was the Pope's friend, and habitually surrounded by a suite almost as brilliant as that of Leo X. Nevertheless one day he confided in Maturino, one of the humblest among the pupils employed on the Loggie. Maturino gave him a pencil, and was astounded at the vigour of his drawing, and

(1) Giovanni Francesco Penni is so called. (Note by Translator.)

(2) Luca della Robbia painted on *terra invetriata*, as Vasari calls it, or on *terra cotta* glazed on the surface, according to M. de Rumohr. This composition was called *terra della Robbia*.



the life he gave to his figures. From that moment a close friendship sprang up between Maturino and Polydoro Caravaggio; henceforth their purses, their habits, their lives were in common; they could not even be distinguished by their work, for they combined their talents and painted on the same canvas, in order that the greater genius of Polydoro might be less evident. These two artists adorned the façades of many Roman palaces in flat tints; and these paintings, exposed as they have been to atmospheric influences, were pronounced marvellous. At Ripetta, they represented marine monsters; on the Piazza Capranica, the theological virtues; near Tor di Nona (1), the triumph of Camillus; on the walls of the Spinola palace, ancient combats. Elsewhere, they designed Phalaris and the brazen bull; battles in which the bronze helmets and iron armour were wonderfully represented; the rape of the Sabines; the Vestal Claudia towing a ship on the Tiber; the combat of the Horatii; and the Saturnalia. The sack of Rome by the Germans in 1527 alone put an end to the joint labours of these two great artists, for Maturino died, and Polydoro Caravaggio took refuge in Naples, and afterwards in Sicily, where fresh productions sealed his renown.

It was not surprising that great strides were made at this period, when everybody, either endeavoured to

(1) The Tor di Nona, near the Ponte S. Angelo, no longer exists; it was pulled down in 1690. As Régnier's line attests, it was used as a prison:—

"Qu'un barisiel vous mit dedans la tour de Nonne."

be an artist or else to become an encourager and patron of art. Young and wealthy Cardinals, Louis d'Aragon, Sigismundo Gonzaga, Ippolyto d'Este, combined great state with a studious life; the German Goritz possessed a palace at Rome, a mortuary chapel at S. Agostino, and a table at which artists and men of letters were ever welcome. (1) Agostino Chigi then possessed a Greek printing-press like the Pope's, and he published an edition of Pindar before a single work had issued from the press confided to Lascaris. Just as the Vatican was being enlarged, Chigi was building the Farnesina, and he entrusted its decoration to its architect Peruzzi, to Raphael, architect of the Vatican, and to every known painter or celebrated artist. (2) It was in this palace that Raphael produced his voluptuous figure of Galatea, and at the same time Sebastiano del Piombo was designing that of Polyphemus; Raphael then returned to the pontifical palace to paint his fine works, "Attila and S. Leo", "The Deliverance of S. Peter", "The Crowning of Charlemagne", and "The Conflagration of the Borgo Vecchio".

(1) Goritz, or Goricius, was lauded by every poet of the sixteenth century. A volume has been published, under the title of "Goryciana", of all the verses dedicated to him. Each day sonnets in his honour were affixed to the altar of S. Ann in his chapel at S. Agostino, until he ordered that it should be closed out of fear that the practice might degenerate into idolatry.

(2) Chigi was born at Siena. His generosity and uprightness were equal to his wealth. His family was exiled from Rome by Paul III (Farnese), and his goods confiscated. It was then that his Lungara palace took the name of Farnesina.

Leo X wishing to decorate his apartments with some of the celebrated Flemish tapestries, whose bright colours rivalled the finest paintings, requested Raphael to make some designs to be copied in Flanders. Raphael conceived and executed the celebrated cartoons of the Acts of the Apostles, for which he received sixty thousand crowns, (1) and which are one of his highest titles to fame. As a delicate piece of flattery he surrounded them with a chiar-oscuro framework representing the principal events of the Pontiff's life.

So many works and triumphs had raised Raphael's fame above that of all others. Even Michael Angelo was told at Florence that there was no work which could compare for richness of thought, purity of design, charm of composition and colouring, with that of his young rival. He himself appeared unmoved; but others drew comparisons, and endeavoured to produce antagonism between the two masters. It was well known that Michael Angelo encouraged and assisted a young Venetian painter distinguished for his colouring, and each of Fra Sebastiano's compositions was received with transports of delight. A "Dead Christ" and a "Christ bound to the Column" were especially admired by artists. Raphael asked himself whether he would have to surrender his high position, and whether two competitors united against him would succeed when every single artist had

(1) According to Panvinus the reward was 50,000 golden crowns. Raphael's cartoons are now in the London National Gallery, and were formerly at Hampton Court.

failed. Then he painted his grand "Transfiguration", while Fra Sebastiano was at work on the "Resurrection of Lazarus" designed by Michael Angelo. The simultaneous appearance of these two pictures caused the greatest excitement and curiosity at Rome. They were brought before the Pope and exhibited at a public Consistory; Raphael's carried off the palm.

This was his last triumph. At the early age of thirty-seven Raphael had already exhausted his life by his labours. It is said that Leo, X held out hopes to him of a Cardinal's hat, that Bibbiena desired he would wed his niece; but Raphael had no love or ambition beyond the Fornarina, the baker's daughter, whom he has immortalised. When this great genius expired all Rome came to weep over his remains. Raphael's body lay in state in his studio, the "Transfiguration", the last production of *his brush*, hung above his head as the brightest jewel in his crown. (1)

The illustrious artist was buried at S. Maria-della-Rotonda, the ancient Pantheon. During his lifetime he had founded a chapel to the Madonna in that

(1) "La quale opera," says Vasari in speaking of the "Transfiguration", "nel vedere il corpo morto e quella viva, faceva scoppiare l'anima di dolore a chiunque quivi guardava."

From the great talent it displays, and the technical perfection of the work, the "Transfiguration" has always been considered Raphael's masterpiece. But, in Catholic opinion, the unartificial composition of his early works will always be preferred to that striving after success, "that rhetoric of painting", as Mde. de Staël calls it, which characterises his later style.

church, and the statue of the blessed Virgin was placed upon his tomb.

Michael Angelo had been sent to Florence by Leo X, when he first ascended the pontifical throne, in order that he might build the church of S. Lorenzo as well as raise tombs to the Medici. These great works occupied many years, and he only returned to Rome towards the latter period of Clement VII life.

It has been a matter of surprise that Leo X genius did not attract, or retain in Rome, several illustrious artists; such as the greater part of the painters of the Venetian School, in addition to Andrea del Sarto, Fra Bartolomeo, Albertinelli, and, particularly, the matchless Leonardo. Fra Bartolomeo and Albertinelli spent only a short time at Rome, where, nevertheless, they left fine specimens of their talents in the church of S. Suzanna on the Quirinal. The pictures painted for this purpose by Fra Bartolomeo, representing SS. Peter and Paul, are now in the pontifical palace of Monte-Cavallo. He left before completing them, as the Roman climate did not suit him, and the strange medley of so many works of art, both ancient and modern, disagreeably affected both his mind and his style.

Leonardo da Vinci accompanied Giuliano di Medici on the journey he made to the papal court in 1513. Both Prince and artist were received with that sumptuous hospitality which distinguished Roman manners at that period. Giuliano was presented with the freedom of the city, a magnificent banquet was given in his honour, and a representation of Plau-

tus's "Pænulus" by its literary brilliance gave an antique character to the festival.

Leonardo appears to have chiefly occupied himself while at Rome with mechanical contrivances; he affixed wings to lizards, endeavoured to give artificial motion to inanimate bodies and reproduce the wonders related of Albert the Great's automaton. But, if Leonardo has left few lasting memorials of his life at Rome, nevertheless evidence of his genius remains in the small lunette above the principal porch of the Convent of S. Onofrio, in which the Virgin is represented with those firm lines, that delicate modelling and design, which Leonardo knew so well how to combine with grace of movement and sublime innocence of expression. (1)

Among the distinguished men who added lustre to the reign of Leo X, mention must be made of the celebrated engraver Marcantonio of Bologna, and of the two artists, master and pupil, who made the name of Sansovino famous. Marcantonio brought the art of engraving to the highest perfection. Maso Finiguerra, in his "Coronation of the Virgin", and Baccio Baldini, in the celebrated edition of Dante of 1488, were the first to exemplify it, and the Germans had subsequently taken it up with marked success. Marcantonio's first efforts even rivalled those of Albrecht Dürer; but it was when engraving Raphael's paintings that his genius rose to the highest

(1) This lunette, together with the Madonna of the Palazzo Buonvisi, at Lucca, are the works of Leonardo most admired by M. de Rumohr.

pitch, for he succeeded in reproducing all the grace of outline and delicacy of shading peculiar to that great artist. Raphael himself directed and inspired Marcantonio, who continued to popularize the works of that artist.

Something of Raphael's poetic fancy may also be traced in the works of the great sculptor Contucci da Sansovino. In a manner quite different from that of Michael Angelo, Contucci surpassed all his predecessors. Praxiteles himself might have envied his group of S. Ann, (1) his sculptures at S. Maria-del-Popolo, and his bas-reliefs at the Santa-Casa-di-Loreto. When young Tatti, Sansovino's most gifted pupil, exhibited his "Virgin" of S. Augustine's church, his "S. James", and his "Crucifix" at the church of S. Marcellus, public admiration thought the most worthy reward he could receive was the title of Sansovino, his master's name.

The Santa-Casa-di-Loreto had been during half a century a meeting place for the most famous artists, and an object of the greatest Papal liberality. The circumstances under which it became a place of pilgrimage are well known. At the time when the Crusaders were attacked by Saladin, and driven to forsake to the profanation of infidels the cradle of Bethlehem and the church of Calvary, some inhabitants of Tersate, in Dalmatia, perceived one day, in May 1291, a small hut standing upon a hitherto uninhabited hill. Rumour of this wonder spread

(1) In S. Augustine's church, this remarkable group has been commemorated by all the Roman poets.

afar, and crowds came from all parts to visit this strange hermitage standing without foundations upon uneven ground. Without, its construction was of the meanest description; but, within, it was adorned with panelling, paintings, and an altar on which stood a statue of the Blessed Virgin. It was revealed to a priest of Tersate that this was the dwelling of Mary at Nazareth. Nicolò Frangipani, the *governor* of the province, immediately sent a deputation to Nazareth, consisting of the most distinguished men of Dalmatia, among whom were the trustworthy and honourable Sigismund Orsich and Giovanni Gregoruschi. They found that the Virgin's house had disappeared from Nazareth, but that its foundations remained, and that they corresponded exactly in size, shape, and thickness with the walls of the modest hut at Tersate. Henceforth public devotion surrounded the spot with holy respect; but, some three years and a few months after this miraculous translation, the dwelling of Mary rose once more in the air, as though borne by angels, and, crossing the Adriatic, descended amid the laurel woods of Recanati. Some shepherds watching their flocks were the first, as in the Gospel, to learn the strange tidings, and S. Nicolò di Tolentino had a vision similar to the one vouchsafed to the priest of Tersate. But the holy house, the Santa-Casa, as it was named in future, did not long remain in the laurel wood, within the deep recesses of which pilgrims were exposed to the attacks of robbers; it successively appeared on the summit of a neighbouring hill, and finally upon the spot, on the road from Recanati to the sea, where it still



remains. Around it the inhabitants of the district raised shelters for pilgrims; and, towards the middle of the fourteenth century, they built a fine church over it, in the same manner as it had been originally within the Basilica erected at Nazareth by the holy Empress Helena. (1)

When this church was falling into ruins, Paul II sent, in 1468, Giuliano di Majano, the clever architect of the Palazzo S. Marco, to Loreto. He built another and grander church, surmounted by a cupola designed by the elder San-Gallo; but this cupola, being too heavy for its supports, would have brought about the destruction of the whole edifice had not Antonio di San-Gallo strengthened it by the unrivalled knowledge he possessed of the technicalities of architecture. Antonio seized this opportunity to modify the form of the building, and to stamp it with his own great talent. But even this magnificent enclosure for the holy dwelling was not considered sufficient; Julius II ordered that the outer walls should be encased with marbles, on which art might record the touching scenes of Mary's life. Bramante was entrusted with this work. He enshrined, so to speak, the Santa-Casa in an architectural building of rarest beauty. The four sides of the building were divided by Corinthian columns into panels, intended either for bas-reliefs or for the reception of statues in two rows of niches. Leo X commanded Sansovino to

(1) The following inscription was on the façade of the church built over the Santa Casa by S. Helena:— "Hæc est ara in quâ primò jactum est humanæ salutis fundamentum."

undertake all these sculptures, and on this occasion the skilful artist surpassed himself. Alongside the statues of prophets and sibyls, the life of the Virgin was unfolded; her birth, her marriage, the Visitation, the Annunciation, the Journey to Bethlehem, Christmas, the shepherds, angels, magi, the death of Mary, the translation of Santa-Casa, all were reproduced according to tradition or from the Gospel narrative. "It is a divine work," cries Vasari, "were it all in diamonds it could not be more precious or more worthy of admiration than it has become by the architecture of Bramante and the carving of Sansovino." (1)

On beholding this outburst of intellectual vigour it might be supposed that Christendom enjoyed profound peace under Leo X, and that no anxiety, or sadness, came to disturb her repose. Yet the whole of Germany had risen at Luther's bidding; Belgrade was falling into the hands of the Turks; while the northern provinces of Italy were becoming impoverished by the evils of a cruel and ceaseless war. Leo X pursued, perhaps with less apparent energy, but at least with as indomitable a will, the policy of Julius II to free Italy from foreign domination, and to beat down the petty tyrannies which had sprung up in the Roman States. Moreover, wherever Medicean power extended, prosperity and confidence

(1) Sansovino died ere he could complete this great work. Several of the bas-reliefs were either sculptured or finished by Tribolo, Raphael di Montelupo, and Bandinelli. Among the statues are some very fine ones by Lombardo.

revived. Not only had Rome become an intellectual centre which attracted foreigners from all parts, but, by reason of her lessened taxation, and by her trade, she had become one of the richest cities of Europe. Under Leo X her population rose to 85,000 inhabitants; ten years after his death it had sunk to 35,000, for the followers of the Constable de Bourbon had swept over her.

From a religious point of view Leo X reign is noted for the Concordat, the principles of which he laid down during his famous meeting with Francis I at Bologna, thereby putting an end to the interminable quarrels of the Pragmatic Sanction. It is also remarkable for the Lateran Council, summoned and opened by Julius II, and continued and closed by Leo X, to which by degrees all the abettors of the schismatic Council of Pisa adhered. Among the decrees of this Lateran Council was one which in a very special manner authorised those charitable institutions known as the "Monti-di-Pietà", which had already been favoured by Paul II, Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, Alexander VI, and Julius II, and which had resulted in ruining the usurious banks of the Jews in every town of Italy. (1) Another decree

(1) See the Bull "Inter multiplices". The "Monti-di-Pietà" had been instituted by Padre Barnabò di Terni, a friar minor, with the object of protecting the poorer classes from Jewish usury. The first Monte was opened in Perugia; but the first to receive apostolic sanction was that of Orvieto in 1464. The first mention of the "Monti-di-Pietà" at Rome occurs in a Bull of Paul III in 1539. The Blessed Giacomo della Marca and Bernardine di Feltre were among the most zealous propagators of this charitable institution.

prescribed that Bishops should exercise the most rigorous supervision over preachers, in order that no one should ever venture to speak of false miracles and apocryphal stories in the pulpit accompanied by violent gestures and ranting. The Council's decree thus ran:— "Let preachers explain in their sermons the truths of the Gospel, according to the teaching of the holy Fathers; let their discourses be filled with truths from Holy Scripture; let them endeavour to inspire horror for vice, love of virtue, charity one towards another; never saying anything against the true meaning of the Holy Writ and of its true interpretation by Catholic doctrine." These worthy and devout instructions were given two years anterior to Luther's frenzied preaching.

So early as 1514 Leo X had said:— "Our firm resolve is to pursue a course of general reformation as useful, and even necessary, in order that the Lord's field may be cleared of weeds and produce only good fruit." He at once set to work. A vague kind of philosophy had taken hold of men's imaginations, and the Lateran council opposed it by a deeper study of theological science; priests were not all leading exemplary lives; so they were now reminded of the holiness of their mission by severe discipline; prelates were warned that their table should be simple and frugal and that Cardinals' residences should be like houses of refuge, open alike to poverty, honesty and learning.

Leo X was, moreover, the first to set a charitable example. He fed a great many priests, nuns, and veterans daily; he opened the refuge of S. Maria

Maddalena for penitent women, and raised the charitable association founded by Cardinal Giulio di Medici, for the relief of the humble poor and insolvent debtors, to an archconfraternity.

His munificence towards churches was not less generous: apart from his undertaking at S. Peter's, which was enough to absorb the energies of any other man, he restored the ancient Baptistery of Constantine, and made Raphael rebuild the deaconry of S. Maria-in-Dominica, the title of which he bore as Cardinal. A small marble ship was then placed before its door, from whence came its popular name of La Navicella.

Finally Leo increased the splendour of the Church ceremonies by encouraging the study of music with all the energy of his poetic mind; in this branch of art he was himself a proficient, and his voice was said to be sweet and melodious, "*sermo illius suavis et blandus*".

Reviewing the numerous acts of his pontificate of eight years only, it might well be supposed that it had lasted a century. Leo had just entered into a league with Spain and Switzerland against France: several Lombard towns had opened their gates to Prospero Colonna, the general of the Pontifical troops, who had even succeeded in taking Milan. These great tidings reached the Pope in his charming Villa Magliana, where he often resided when he wished for quiet and solitude. Leo was enchanted at this triumph, and set out immediately for Rome; but death awaited him there, an apparently causeless death which left black suspicion behind it. These suspicions, however,

were not proved, for he was attacked by a low fever and died in eight days. His tomb, still in the church of La Minerva, was designed by Michael Angelo and executed by Lombardo and Bandinelli. The Pontiff's statue is by Raphael di Montelupo. During his lifetime the Romans had raised another statue in his honour at the Capitol. (1)

. Leo X era was a great one for all Europe: Ximenes was ending his glorious career in Spain, while Charles V appeared in all his youthful splendour; Cortez was conquering Mexico; Fernando da Majellan sailing round Cape Horn, as Vasco da Gama had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, was engaged in making the first voyage of circumnavigation mentioned in history. In England Henry VIII was surrounded by men distinguished for talent and virtue, such as More and Fisher, and was promising "heaps of gold" to Erasmus if he would only remain in his kingdom. When Luther attacked the Church and its Head, Henry VIII wrote his "Treatise on the Sacraments" to deprecate his views, and obtained the title of "Defender of the Faith", which was conferred upon him at a public Consistory by Leo X. In France, the receptions at Fontainebleau were a repetition of those at the Vatican. Francis I had gathered around him La Tremouille, Primateo, Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea del Sarto, Lautrec, and Ronsard. Germany

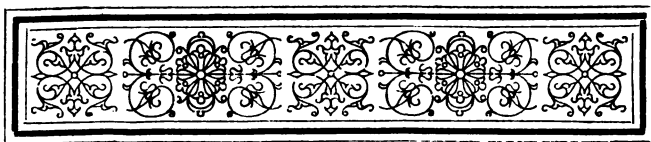
(1) This statue at the Capitol, raised by subscription, was made by Giovanni del Duca, a Sicilian sculptor. Upon the pedestal was engraved the following inscription:—

"Optimi liberalissimique Pontificis memorie."

S. P. Q. R.

was proud of her budding universities, her men of learning, her humanists, of Eck, Reuchlin, Emser, and Hochstraten. Finally, the noble head of Leo X, expressive of intelligence and benevolence, rose above them all, and his genius was tempered by the sweetness of his character.





## CHAPTER XVIII.

Omnes ad prædam ventent, facies eorum  
ventus urens.

*Habacuc, Ch. I, v. 9.*

### SIXTEENTH CENTURY

(CONTINUED).

**I**N Italy during the sixteenth century, when all the powers of intellect were in full play, when the cold reasoning of Northern nations was treated as barbarism, when men lived only for amusement and applause, the position of a man of strict morals and calm reflective mind, such as was Adrian Van Trusen, was a very difficult one when called upon to wear the tiara of Julius II and Leo X. The son of a Utrecht brewer, Adrian had raised himself by his own merits to the Chancellorship of the University of Louvain, having gained universal esteem by his learning and modesty. He was consulted by literati from all parts; Erasmus enjoyed conversing with him on philosophy and art, while the Emperor selected him as tutor to the young Archduke afterwards Charles V.

ADRIAN had no sympathy with all the pomp which surrounded a sovereign Pontiff, and which he con-



sidered a revival of pagan ceremony. He was heard to exclaim, "I would rather be surrounded by a court of paralytics". Therefore, when he made his entry into the holy city, he refused to accept any of the ostentatious homage which had been lavished on some of his predecessors, and ordered the demolition of a triumphal arch which was being erected in his honour, and on which five hundred gold ducats had been spent.

Adrian set out from the monastery of S. Paul, wearing episcopal vestments and surrounded only by the clergy who conducted him, by way of the Campo di Fiore, to S. Peter's. One of the first orders he gave was for the dismissal of grooms, victualling officers, and the numerous retinue of domestics who crowded the courts and anti-chambers of the Vatican; these he replaced by his old female servant. The accounts were closely scrutinised, and all abuses were put down with the greatest severity. A reaction, however, took place on behalf of injured interests; literary men and artists complained that they were starved to death, for the money which in previous reigns had been lavished upon them was now spent in paying off the treasury debts, and in providing for the immediate wants of Christendom. When called upon to admire the excellent Latin of a secretary of briefs, the Pontiff curtly described him as a mere poet, and called ancient statuary the idols of pagans. A general dispersal then took place of painters, sculptors, and scholars, whose chief merit was that they spoke Latin in a manner worthy of Horace.

Sadoleti withdrew to his bishopric of Carpentras; Castiglione left for Mantua, and the apostolic secre-

tary Bembo went to Venice to meditate on love and mythology, subjects in which he was proficient.

But, while Adrian thus deprived himself of many distinguished men of genius, he gathered round the pontifical throne persons whose character and talents were sincerely devoted to the Catholic cause. He even wrote to his former co-disciple, Erasmus, in spite of the pusillanimity he had shown in dealing with Luther. "Arise, arise, Erasmus," he exclaimed, "and come to the aid of God's cause." But Erasmus made excuses; he alleged his sufferings, the contempt shown him in his old age; he could not face a journey across the Alps in cold blood, nor put up with dirty taverns, redolent of the smell of frying-pans, and sour wine that would kill him. "When you say, 'Come to Rome', is it not as though you asked the crab to fly? The crab would reply, 'Give me wings', I also say, 'Give me back my youth, give me back my health!' Would to God I had less good excuses to make."

This was the time when Luther, quitting his solitude at Wartburg, his head heated by that conference with the devil, whose remarkable revelations he related to astonished Germany, was boldly attacking both monastic vows and the Mass; when Andreas Bodenstein of Carlstadt set the example of degrading his priestly character by a public marriage, celebrated by a chorus of unfrocked monks and an ignorant populace: Europe was in flames, and it can be understood that the Pontiff put aside the allurements of art, in order to face the danger and rescue the noble trust committed to his care. What now most

troubled Adrian, to use his own words, were the "sins of men", especially those of "priests and prelates", to whose wickedness he attributed the desolation with which God had afflicted the Church.

Such, nevertheless, was the man whom poets, artists, and most historians have called a Vandal, "un Pontefice barbaro"; Vasari even saying that his death came as a boon from heaven. The Romans joined in these prejudices and dislike, being too much given up to pleasure and art. "They hated him," an historian said, "because he gave no entertainments, dining alone like a religious, and because he was frugal and economical in all things." (1)

Adrian VI no doubt was far from possessing the talents necessary for the trying period at which he ascended the throne; but it is a mistake to accuse him of aversion to art and literature. What he objected to and disliked was the pagan tendency of his day. Erasmus praised his good taste, Paolo Giovio relates with pleasure that his reputation obtained for him a hearty welcome from the Pontiff. But Adrian could not put up with that crowd of insipid versifiers and impure painters, who profaned art by their tasteless and undignified repetitions of mythological subjects. It was natural that he refused to have a secretary like Bembo, who described Jesus Christ as a "hero", the Virgin as a "goddess", and who, when writing in the name of the Pope, spoke of the "immortal Gods". Adrian's reign lasted only

(1) Continuation of Fleury's "Hist. ecclés." Book CXXVIII.

twenty-two months; yet that short space of time sufficed to restore peace to the Roman States.

Rimini submitted again to the authority of the Church; the Dukes of Urbino and Ferrara received anew the investiture of their fiefs. In fact, some happiness might have reached the Pope's heart had it not been for the fall of Rhodes, the increased bitterness of the war in Lombardy, and an epidemic which decimated the Roman population, an epidemic unjustly attributed to the Pope on the grounds that he had not taken the necessary sanitary precautions to guard against it. "How cruel it is", exclaimed Adrian, "that there are times when the best of men must succumb." He regretted the sweet retirement of his priory at Louvain; his delightful studies; the peaceful obedience which he had always preferred to the empty enjoyment of power. He drew up the following epitaph before his death:— "*Hadrianus hic situs est, qui nihil sibi infelicius in vitâ, quàm quòd imperaret, duxit*".

This good Pontiff's successor was related to Leo X, whose friend he had been in his youth; he was by birth a Medici and a Tuscan. On hearing of CLEMENT VII election, all the loungers on Parnassus returned to Rome, and Sanazaro dedicated a poem to the new Pope, "*de Partu Virginis*", a quaint jumble of mythology and Christianity, in which Mary is represented among fabled deities as the hope of gods and men.

"*Tuque adeò spes fida hominum, spes fida deorum!*"

Clement VII was gifted with all the sweetness and gentleness of disposition which were distinctive

characteristics of the Medici; his noble bearing when celebrating the services of the Church always commanded universal love and respect. Until his accession to the Papacy he had been noted for prudence, good tact, and excellent judgment. This last quality was exemplified when he was called upon to pronounce a final decision respecting Luther, Henry VIII, and Charles V, in other words, when he made a stand against all three.

Charles V growing power was a subject of terror to Italy. Spain, Austria, and Sicily obeyed him; and, in order to please him, Leo X had suppressed the ancient custom of forbidding the union of Naples with the Imperial crown. Italy, standing so high intellectually, anxiously wondered whether she would have to bear the same yoke with other nations, who possessed neither her civilisation nor her manners. Clement VII shared these fears and began negotiations with Francis I; but the battle of Pavia and the captivity of the French monarch put an end to them. Dread then fell upon the Pope, who trembled and hesitated; sometimes he thought he would approach the Emperor, then the interests of Italy carried the day; so finally he united his troops with those of the league formed against Charles V. Thereupon the Imperialists no longer bore him any respect; and the veteran Fründesberg descended the Alps at the head of his Protestant infantry, exclaiming, "If I reach Rome, I will hang the Pope". Unheard of excitement reigned in Rome. The Colonna, who were always leaders of the Imperial faction, boldly seized upon the Gate of S. John Lateran, marched

across the whole city amid heedless crowds, and approached the Vatican in order to threaten the Pope. Clement, seeing himself abandoned, for a moment thought he would meet death seated upon his throne; but some of the Cardinals dragged him away to the Castle of S. Angelo. Meanwhile Colonna's eight thousand men swarmed along the right bank of the Tiber; the Vatican, S. Peter's, and the houses of the Leonine city were plundered, and it was only the cannon of S. Angelo that could keep the lawless soldiery in check.

A truce followed; Clement promised to withdraw from the league, and the Colonna retired. But, at the same time, Fründesberg's Germans and the Constable de Bourbon's Spaniards were descending from devastated Lombardy upon the provinces of central Italy, which until then had escaped the war. The pillage of Rome was their principal object, as they considered that city to be the centre of all wealth. Moreover, a fierce Lutheran spirit animated the Germans; Fründesberg's sole conversation being about strangling the clergy. In vain the Pope endeavoured to stay the storm by negotiating with the Emperor's ministers; these undisciplined bands recognised no leaders but their passions, and de Bourbon only kept up a shadow of authority by pandering to all their wishes. The army therefore proudly continued its march on Rome, although an armistice had been signed with Clement VII, and, at 4.45 in the afternoon of the 5<sup>th</sup> of May 1527, it was observed from the summit of the walls spreading over the fields of Nero, and on the slopes of Monte Mario, threatening

the whole of the Trastevere quarter with its serried battalions.

The Romans could scarcely credit their eyes; some indeed persisted in believing that the terrible host was the united armies of the Duke of Urbino and the Venetian Republic hastening to rescue the Pope. But Clement did not allow himself to be deluded with this idea. His anxiety was extreme; at one time he thought of fleeing towards the sea, at another of leaving the Vatican and cutting down the bridges. He was altogether without troops, for, in his blind confidence, he had just disbanded the Swiss mercenaries in his pay, and it was hopeless to expect to find among tradespeople and servants the nucleus of a picked body which should be strong enough to resist the enemy.

But time pressed on: Lorenzo da Ceri was entrusted with organising the defence; batteries were erected, faggots and boiling pitch prepared, and, at the last moment of this unavoidable crisis, Clement VII recovered all his energy. He even succeeded in arousing the spirits of those around him; he pointed out that the hostile army was without artillery or provisions, and that it would be compelled to disperse after the first attack, should it not be successful. The dawn of the 6<sup>th</sup> of May was thereupon welcomed by both sides, as though it were about to give light to their triumph. But the rising sun was veiled by a thick fog which hampered the fighting. At first the Spaniards were grievously repelled by some of the pontifical guards, their banners were captured, while their standards were flung into the moat. De

Bourbon then rushed to the front; personally fixing planks and garden hurdles in default of ladders beneath the walls, and then gallantly scaled the ramparts under ceaseless firing from cannon and arquebuses. He was closely followed by his squire, Jean de Bridieu, and by the German leader Seidensticker brandishing a broadsword; but they had scarcely reached the battlements when de Bourbon fell pierced by a ball. "Soldiers!" he cried, "conceal my death and advance; the victory is yours." (1)

A sort of madness then seized upon the assailants; even the German infantry, who had hitherto considered the assault impracticable, rushed to the fortifications, clinging to projecting stones, and could not be driven back either by blazing torches or blocks of wood which the Romans hurled down upon them. Meanwhile the Spaniards managed to get into the S. Spirito quarter of the town, entering an uninhabited house through a loophole whence, by means of a ventilator in a cellar, they broke into the city. When the Romans beheld them, ignorant of their number, they became panic-stricken, and a fatal cry arose of "save yourself!" The walls were thereupon abandoned, the rout became general, and the ranks of the hostile army, entering by the S. Pancrazio Gate, flowed like a torrent down the slopes of Janiculum. (2)

(1) The Constable fell near the Cavalleggeri Gate, at that part of the wall nearest to the Sacristy of S. Peter's.

(2) For all these details consult "*l'Histoire de Frundsberg*".



Then began those sorrowful scenes, described by Benvenuto Cellini as "*inestimabile novità*", which transformed the capital of Christendom, the mother of art, into a sepulchre and a ruin. Tradesmen, Cardinals, and an anxious crowd of women and children, sought refuge in the Castle of S. Angelo; to which stronghold the Pope also, on being apprised of the disaster, had fled through the long corridor which Alexander VI had constructed between the palace and fortress. Deep dejection and gloomy terror reigned in every heart; the air resounded with cries of, "Kill! Kill!" groans of the dying, shrieks of mothers whose daughters had been torn from them, and the dismal crackling of flames which were consuming the homes of those who had dared to defend them.

The devastation was not confined to one bank of the Tiber; the Ponte Sisto was carried with scarcely any resistance, while death and mourning reigned supreme. We must leave the description of the frightful orgies that ensued to contemporary writers; the fanatical joy of the Lutherans who defiled the sacred vessels, daubed the pictures of great masters with filth, trampled relics of saints under foot, broke open the tombs in the Basilicas, violated and murdered young girls and their mothers, either in their own homes, or at the foot of some altar to which they had fled for Divine protection.

"Several fathers, armed with daggers, preferred to slay their unhappy daughters than let them fall into the conqueror's hands; but, terrible to relate, even death did not always protect from outrage . . .

Those who witnessed these terrible scenes had no more tears to shed, no voice left wherewith to lament, they gazed upon them with a fixed stare, stolid as statues. Some mothers, unable to bear the sight, tore out their eyes; others fled to underground cellars, where they perished miserably from want of food, which no one dared to give them. Men, women, and children threw themselves from the housetops, preferring such a death to falling into the power of these ferocious troops; sometimes even the soldiers flung their victims from the windows." (1)

No form of torture was spared in order to make the inhabitants give up the last fraction of their wealth. Sometimes the victim was left hanging by the arms for several days, or was slung over the river in dread that the cord might be cut; others were seared with hot irons, or had wooden splinters driven under their nails. The Imperialists, who dwelt at Rome, were not better treated than the Romans, for the soldiers, drunk with blood and excesses, had no longer any regard for either leaders or country. When wearied with slaughter and pillage, they gave themselves up to coarse buffoonery in which heretical hatred was prominent. The lansquenets arrayed themselves in the hats and robes of Cardinals, and thus attired they paraded through the streets on asses. One day they proclaimed Martin Luther Pope; on another they put the Cardinal of Araceli into a coffin and carried him about reciting the Office for

(1) "Le Sac de Rome", par Jacques Buonaparte, gentilhomme de San-Miniato; the author has made use of the translation by young Prince Napoleon-Louis, who died at Forli in 1831.

the dead; after which one of their number pronounced a discourse full of ribaldry and obscenity, by way of a funeral oration from the pulpit.

This state of affairs lasted not only days and weeks, but months. Philibert d'Orange, who had succeeded the Constable de Bourbon, was powerless to check the disorder; Lanoy was equally helpless; so finally they both withdrew, the soldiery being then left to themselves. The history of Fründesberg values the spoil at ten millions in gold and valuables, and ransoms at a far higher figure.

These Germans, who had come ragged and bare-foot, now strolled about in silks and brocades, accompanied by courtesans decked out with jewels torn from monstresances and reliquaries. The churches, even the papal chapel, had been turned into stables; crucifixes were riddled with bullets, while altar decorations were littered about pell-mell with relics of the saints.

It is impossible to describe the anguish and misery of Clement VII, who was condemned to witness these impious scenes from the summit of S. Angelo without having power to stop them. He used to strike his breast and exclaim, with eyes raised towards heaven, "Deus meus, in te speravi, salvum me fac ex omnibus persequentibus me".

Several times he endeavoured to come to terms with the Imperialists; but their demands were so exorbitant that no agreement seemed possible. Nevertheless Clement ended by submitting, and on the 6<sup>th</sup> of June, exactly one month after Rome was taken, he signed a treaty whereby he undertook to pay the army 400,000 ducats, to permit garrisons in several

strongholds of the Roman States, particularly in S. Angelo, and to restore the towns of Parma, Piacenza, and Modena to the Emperor. Until the complete fulfilment of these terms, the Pope was to remain at S. Angelo, and hostages were to be given to the army. These hostages were to be the Bishops of Pistoja and Verona, the Archbishops of Sipontum (Manfredonia) and Pisa, and two near relatives of the Medici, Giacomo Salviati and Lorenzo Ridolfi. The truce which followed this arrangement did not lessen the Pope's anxieties, for he had accepted conditions which he could not carry out. All the gold which he was able to procure, by melting down the sacred vessels left to him, was far from realising the sum required. Moreover, governors of Church fortresses curtly refused to open their gates to the Emperor's envoys. All this opposition and delay increased the fury of the army, and they vented it upon the hostages; on three occasions they were taken in chains to the Campo di Fiore, where gibbets had been set up for their execution; three times their entreaties and promises to produce more money obtained a short reprieve, but at last the patience of the soldiery was exhausted. The Pope's coffers and the purses of all interested in his fate were empty, and not a single gold ducat could be found to delay their execution. Some Romans planned their escape by intoxicating their guards. They mixed opium with their wine, and, when the gaolers were overcome with sleep, they succeeded in saving the hostages by means of the roof and then conducting them beyond the city gates.

Meanwhile a fierce epidemic, resulting from excess, had been raging at Rome for some time and had carried off thousands of Germans and Spaniards. At length, finding their quarters dangerous, they spread throughout the neighbourhood, pillaging Terni and Narni, and laying Spoleto under contribution. Clement VII had been offered permission to retire either to Naples or Spain; but, rather than be beholden to his enemies for a refuge, he remained amid the dying at S. Angelo. The weakened condition of the army and the approach of Lautrec, who was advancing on Campania with a strong force, soon moderated the Imperial demands. Charles V agreed to accept the subsidies levied by the Church in Spain as payment on account for the sum previously stipulated, and on his part Clement undertook to raise no obstacle to the Emperor's designs on Milan and Naples. But Rome still continued in the occupation of foreigners, and Clement, unable any longer to bear the humiliations imposed on him by his conquerors, resolved to escape disguised as a servant. He left Rome carrying a basket by a secret door contrived in the wall at one corner of the Vatican Gardens. Luigi Gonzaga was waiting for him with a carriage; they set out, protected by darkness, and traversing the woods of Baccano, Capranica, and Celano, found safety behind the walls of Orvieto.

The Pope's captivity had lasted seven months. During that period the Roman population had diminished by 45,000 persons. The remnants of the Imperial army were shortly afterwards compelled to quit the city in order to make head against Lautrec's formidable forces.

Rome had not been alone in her sufferings; all Italian towns and provinces in turn had been devastated by undisciplined armies as well as by the plague which immediately supervened. The Imperial army actually annihilated itself in Rome; Lautrec's army melted away before Naples; the earth was laden with corpses, and, at last in their great misery, people raised their hands to God and implored His mercy.

General exhaustion brought about peace; but a new scourge weighed upon Rome. In 1530 the Tiber rose to an unexampled height (1); the whole Leonine city, the Quarter of Campo di Fiore, and all that lies between the Ponte S. Angelo and the Piazza Navona were submerged. A commemorative inscription recording the misfortune was afterwards placed above the statue of Pasquino. This inundation brought back the plague to Rome, and verily it seemed as though God's hand were destroying her without mercy.

Yet there was still so much life remaining in this nation, and so much intellectual activity, that, after and during all these misfortunes, work, industry, and the fine arts continued to flourish, and veil with their productions the wounds and ruins caused by these calamities.

Most of the artists who had flourished under Leo X found a warm welcome at Clement VII court. Raphael was no more; but he had left young and distinguished pupils behind him. One of these, Giulio

(1) The Tiber rose 13 mètres 684 millimètres above low water mark. Sixty-eight years afterwards, in 1589, it exceeded 14 mètres.

Pippi, a Roman, was probably the most able of that painter's disciples; although unlike him he was not gifted with such heavenly conceptions. He was a man of strong passions and given to pleasure; his impetuosity and masterful touch alone brought him distinction when Raphael was no longer at hand to advise him. Clement VII commissioned him to complete the decorations of the Vatican apartments on which Raphael had worked. Giulio Romano (so called) at once set to work, and, from Raphael's designs painted the "Apparition of the Cross to Constantine" and a gigantic picture of the "Battle of Maxentius".

At the same time Perino del Vaga and Giovanni d'Udine were busy painting Jupiter drawn by eagles, Venus by doves, Mars by wolves, Mercury by cocks, the Sun by fiery steeds and the Moon by maidens, on the walls of the Pontifical hall at the Borgia tower. Lastly, the Pope summoned Michael Angelo, and, pointing out the two end walls of the Sistine chapel, suggested two subjects, worthy of his genius, "The Last Judgment", and the "Fall of the Rebel Angels":

We must not omit noticing the progress of Art outside the pontifical palace. Giulio Romano was in great request both as painter and architect. He built a fine house for Bartolomeo di Pescia, the papal datary (1); and put the last touches to the magnificent Villa Madama, on Monte Mario, designed by Raphael, the façade of which, semicircular in form and

(1) Now the Villa Lante.

in the Ionic style, was in imitation of the classic purity of Grecian theatres. The groves, babbling brooks, and green lawns, stretched along the banks of the Tiber from the Ponte Molle to that of S. Angelo.

All the nobility and wealthy persons wished for a palace built by Giulio Romano; hence arose the Palazzo Albertini, and the Pallazzo Cenci-alladogana, in which the architect showed that he knew how to unite the splendours of a princely dwelling with the more humble requirements of commerce.

Lorenzetto, a handsome young sculptor, who had produced the "Jonas" of S. Maria-del-Popolo, was then engaged on the "Virgin at the Rock", which was to grace the tomb of his master Raphael.

Baldassarre Peruzzi, old and stately, was the architect of the Farnesina, and painted the decorations of the Calandra. Two sculptors, Tribolo and Michael Angelo Montorsoli, were under his orders executing the tomb of Adrian VI. He designed a new plan for S. Peter's, and traced with a firm hand the majestic sections of the Palazzo Massimi which made his name famous.

Antonio di San-Gallo, the youngest and most distinguished among a family of renowned artists, directed vast throngs of workmen, who, from the Coliseum to the Campo di Fiore, were employed in chipping and carving blocks of stone and marble, fallen from the amphitheatre, to be used in building the imposing façade of the Palazzo Farnese.

We must now mention Benvenuto Cellini, the Florentine goldsmith. Though very young he had



already made magnificent vases for the Bishop of Salamanca; a diamond lily for the lovely Porzia Chigi; a medal representing Leda and the Swan, chalices, patens, and small figures replete with the vivacity of his genius. No wonder he considered himself to be about the most important personage in Rome. (1)

Artists, like everyone else, suffered acutely from the public calamities. Several died, the rest were scattered abroad, penniless, and often even without clothes. Perino del Vaga went to Genoa; Polidoro da Caravaggio to Sicily; Benvenuto, after killing the Constable de Bourbon (so at least he said), turned bombardier at S. Angelo. Peruzzi in order to regain his freedom was compelled to paint a portrait of the Constable from his lifeless body. But no sooner was the crisis over than every one returned to work. San-Gallo followed the Pope to Orvieto, and, by his orders, constructed a magnificent well with a double spiral, to enable beasts of burden to ascend and descend. When Rome was once more free they all returned thither. Cellini struck coins, and worked in gold and silver for churches; Peruzzi and San-Gallo, summoning workmen to their aid, cleared away the ruins, and Michael Angelo, after constructing fortifications at Florence for the Pope's enemies, boldly appeared before Clement and presented him with "Christ embracing the Cross", one of his most perfect works. (2)

(1) See "Vita di Benvenuto Cellini", chap. IV and V.

(2) Now in the Minerva.

However painful it may be to observe, during this period, the cruelties of some, the paganism of others, and the miseries of all, none the less admiration is due to all the energy, self-help, and desire for immortal fame which was displayed. This activity was not merely devoted to the material wants of mankind, it soon affected man himself, teaching him rude lessons, which produced many examples of virtue. As early as the reign of Leo X, some symptoms of a religious reaction were visible among the better classes of Roman society. A certain number of eminent men united in a bond of brotherhood, in order to obtain by saintly devotion sufficient strength to resist the enervating atmosphere which surrounded them. They adopted the title and emblems of Divine Love, and met on fixed days in the Church of S. Dorothea, near the Porta Settignana. Among these men were Archbishop Caraffa; Gaetano di Teano, an apostolic protonotary; Contarini, a noble Venetian, equally distinguished by his high character and by his talents; and fifty others, all of whom were either of high birth or eminence, such as Lippomano, Sadoleti, and Ghiberti.

These first efforts to break away from the spirit of the times soon inflamed the zeal of several members of the "Congregation of Divine Love". Above all Caraffa, whose ardent soul had found only troubles and weariness in grandeur, longed for an active life in which he could employ himself in endeavouring to reform the world. In Gaetano di Teano he found a kindred spirit with a character unlike his own. Gaetano, meditative and retiring, was equally anxious

to reform the world, but did not wish to be a prominent figure in it. (1) The varying qualities of these two remarkable men, however, combined in the execution of their plan; this was to train clergy to a life of contemplation and austerity, to preach and minister to the sick; clergy in short who would give an example to all priests how to fulfil the duties of their holy calling.

This new institution began in a small house on the Field of Mars belonging to Bonifazio della Colle, who joined the two founders. Another member of the "Congregation of Divine Love" also joined their Society, and, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of September 1524, they gave up all their dignities taking the vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty, even binding themselves never to beg, but to await the gifts of Providence.

Such was the origin of the Theatine clerks Regular. From their humble retreat in the field of Mars they soon migrated to Monte Pincio, whose solitude was more appropriate for meditation than the noisy Pantheon quarter; from thence they daily went down to the city to catechize the poor and visit hospitals. They often preached in the streets, crowds being attracted by the virtues of Gaetano, or cowed by Caraffa, who denounced their vices with all the powers of a zealous soul; an abundant harvest of conversions followed.

When the Imperialists invaded Rome, the Theatines were always to be found in the thick of the turmoil,

(1) Life of S. Gaetano, by Caraccioli.

bearing relief and hindering crime. The Imperialists, thinking they were rich, arrested them, and endeavoured to extort large ransoms; their only treasures, faith and charity, were, however, beyond the conqueror's reach.

It was not only by the foundation of new Orders that an improvement manifested itself in Christian society. Reform was going on in monasteries; the Camaldolese and the Franciscans were returning to the strict observance of their Rules; the Capuchin Fathers appeared, suddenly revealing their existence to the Romans by the self-sacrifice they displayed during the plague of 1528.

Such was the condition of the Christian world at the death of Clement VII. There is no doubt that Luther's revolt stirred up this internal movement of Catholicism; the more people were opposed to heresy, the more they felt the necessity of putting an end to that laxity of morals and those abuses which had served him for an excuse.

PAUL III entered into this project with characteristic moderation it is true, but also with the sincere conviction of a just and upright mind. He convoked an Œcumenical Council, an extreme measure at which Clement VII had always demurred, and summoned to the Sacred College a large number of men who took up a prominent position in the religious reaction; among these were Caraffa, Contarini, Caraccioli, and Sadoleti. Fisher and Reginald Pole, two Englishmen conspicuous for their brave opposition to Henry VIII schism, also received a Cardinal's hat, one being in prison, the other in exile. It is said that Paul III

offered the same token of esteem to Erasmus, doubtless to reward him for having at length engaged in a conflict with Luther.

But to these wise deeds were joined others of fatal weakness, both towards children and old friends, which ended by causing bitter grief to Paul III. It is probable this sorrow shortened his days; his last exclamation, "Had my own not ruled me, I should have been without reproach", shows us how severely he condemned himself. (1) At heart Paul III possessed such benevolence and nobility that, when left to himself, his designs were always good and glorious. To reconcile European Princes, to excite their ardour against the Turks, whose galleys swept the Mediterranean from Algiers to Smyrna, to restore unity to the bosom of Christendom by reforming abuses were the aims of nearly every act of his pontificate. He combined these serious objects with love of art and strong poetic tastes. United in bonds of friendship with Paolo Cortese, Fracastor, Prierias, Vida, and Lascaris his generous patronage was praised by Ariosto. (2) His manners were always graceful, natural, and befitting his lofty position. When Paul III was raised to the papacy he considered a Cardinal's residence to be unfit for a Pope, so he bade San-Gallo enlarge the proportions of his palace, and exert all his talents in transforming it into one worthy of a Prince. This San-Gallo did, without altering the style, giving it ampler space and no-

(1) "Si mei non fuissent dominati, tum immaculatus ero."

(2) "Orlando Furioso", c. XLVI, st. 13.

bility, and the Farnese Palace, after Michael Angelo had crowned it with a rich entablature, astonished Rome, being considered as fine a monument as those raised of old by Consuls and Emperors. (1)

During this time ancient ruins were cared for and preserved from all injury with becoming respect. Eugenius IV, Pius II, and Sixtus IV had all forbidden the exportation of ancient statues; but Paul III, from the moment he ascended the throne, carried his watchfulness still further. By a brief, dated the 25<sup>th</sup> of November 1534, he nominated Latino Giovenale pontifical commissioner, or superintendent of Roman antiquities, with instructions to watch with great care over all amphitheatres, porticoes, aquaducts etc., and to prevent ordinary buildings being raised against them. This example was followed by Paul IV, Pius IV, Pius V, and by most of the Pontiffs who succeeded them.

Finally, it was during the reign of Paul III that Michael Angelo accomplished several works upon which his reputation is based. The artist had kept away from Rome for a long time because the Duke of Urbino worried him about Julius II tomb. He was frequently reminded of the forty statues which were to have attended the gigantic figure of Moses at the tomb; Michael Angelo had given up this scheme as being too vast. At last a compromise was effected, and the Moses, which was to have been

(1) The Farnese is the finest palace in Rome. Read a description of it in M. Quatremère de Quincy's interesting work on celebrated architects.

raised to a height of thirteen mètres standing in the midst of patriarchs and prophets upon pedestals in relief, was condemned to be seated on a kind of throne ornamented with masks and satyrs, in a narrow niche almost level with the ground.

Meanwhile Paul III conceived the idea of enlarging the Capitol, and turning it into a monument worthy of its name. He gave this commission to Michael Angelo, who thereupon added to it two wings, the basement, and double staircase of the main building. It would have been difficult to anticipate the career of S. Peter's architect from this ordinary, ungraceful, work. He then designed the approach to the Capitol, adorning its upper Piazza with ancient monuments, such as the trophies of Marius, the statues of Castor and Pollux, and the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius standing in the centre. (1) All this time he was progressing with his great work, "The Last Judgment", in the Sistine Chapel. This picture has obtained a world wide reputation which in itself entitles it to respect. We have no wish to criticise a work which exemplifies the whole science of drawing, and in which grand figures, whose antecedents and models were unknown, live once more. (2) Still we agree with M. Quatremère de Quincy that, according to the point of view from which we regard this

(1) This statue formerly stood on the Lateran Square, and for long the clergy of the Basilica had been in the habit of going in procession, once a year, to the place it had occupied, in order to protest against its removal.

(2) "Vie de Michel-Ange."

enormous fresco, endless beauties or imperfections may be found in it. (1)

Scarcely was "The Last Judgment" completed than Michael Angelo painted the large frescoes of the "Conversion of S. Paul" and the "Crucifixion of S. Peter" in the Pauline Chapel. He then entirely devoted himself to the construction of the Vatican *Basilica*, which, though the labours of thirty-eight years had been expended upon it, still only displayed a few arcades rising above immense substructures within, but upon which the treasures of a whole generation had already been expended. Michael Angelo at last gave life to this vast body, and the uprising of this splendid Christian monument was viewed with great delight.

The name of S. Gaetano has already been mentioned; so we may proceed to speak of quite a constellation of saints whose virtues were not inferior to his, and whose influence on society was undoubtedly more universal and lasting.

Iñigo Lopez de Loyola heads the gallant band which includes SS. Philip Neri, Charles Borromeo, Pius V, Francis Borgia, and Aloysius Gonzaga, who all, during some portion of their lives, dwelt in Rome,

(1) M. E. Cartier, comparing, in his "Vie de Fra Angelico", "The Last Judgment" of Michael Angelo with the one by Orcagna, in the Campo Santo of Pisa, admirably observes:—"Michael Angelo is extraordinary, while Orcagna is religious. Their compositions are summed up in the two Christs who judge. One is an executioner who destroys; the other is a monarch who condemns, while showing the sacred wound in his side as a justification for his sentence." P. 57.



where their memory is still venerated. The first time the great Iñigo, or Ignatius de Loyola, was seen in Rome was during that troubled period of his life, in 1523, when, suddenly following the dictates of his heart, he hung up his spear and knightly armour at the Virgin's altar, and received in exchange a pilgrim's staff and hermit's coarse garb, after passing the whole night in prayer. He had resolved on going to Jerusalem; for it was on the spot where the mystery of man's redemption had been accomplished that he had vowed to devote his life to the propagation of the Gospel. He embarked at Barcelona and landed at Gaeta, whence he proceeded to Rome asking alms all the way; he obtained shelter in the Hospital of S. Giacomo dei Spagnuoli, and, after having received Adrian VI blessing, set out for Palestine.

On his return to Europe he attended school, for hitherto his education had been limited to managing horses and handling spears, "*homo litterarum planè rudis*". Afterwards he joined the Capettes of Montaigu, then went to Sainte-Barbe and finally to the church of Montmartre. Being horrified at the lawless spirit existing in the world, he and six other young men vowed to devote their lives to God, and sealed this solemn compact by receiving Holy Communion together. Some of these men, like SS. Ignatius and Francis Xavier, belonged to illustrious families whose glorious traditions urged them on to the performance of noble deeds; another, Pierre Le Fèvre, had as a child tended sheep on the mountains of Savoy, where amid solitude he heard God's voice calling him to a life of meditation and study. Lainez, Salmeron, Rodri-

guez, and Bobadilla were all students uncertain as to their future in these times of intellectual movement. They were seeking a sure foothold amid the waves of warring principles, which had disturbed the world since the Reformation. On leaving the church of Montmartre, Ignatius and his companions partook of a frugal meal near the fountain of S. Denis, and then set forth, though uncertain as to their destination. Their first idea was Palestine; but, on meeting Caraffa and the Theatines at Venice, Ignatius conceived an idea of founding a similar institution, which should always co-operate with the clergy, support the Sovereign Pontiff, and, throughout Christendom, maintain unity of purpose, which would give method and force to its action. On account of war the journey to Palestine had become impossible. So Ignatius, accompanied by Le Fèvre and Lainez, started for Rome, hoping that the Pope's advice might assist him in maturing and formulating his scheme. Their one fixed idea was that they should be called the Company of Jesus, meaning thereby to be the van-guard of a body of picked troops, bearing the name of their Captain as evidence of their devotion and a presage of victory.

At Rome, while waiting for pontifical approbation, the burning charity of these new apostles exhibited itself in devoting their whole time to the public good. Lainez and Le Fèvre obtained professorships at the Sapienza; Francis Xavier, who had rejoined them, preached most eloquently at S. Lorenzo-in-Damaso; Ignatius attached himself to the church of S. Maria-di-Monserrato for the purpose of giving Christian instruction and labouring after the reformation of

public morals. He used to remark, "I should prefer to live in uncertainty about my salvation, in order to serve God, and aid in saving my brethren, than to die now, assured of my eternal happiness." (1)

Xavier and Rodriguez left for India on the 15<sup>th</sup> of March 1540. At that date the Society had not yet been constituted, but a Bull dated the 27<sup>th</sup> of September that same year confirmed it; so, on the following 17<sup>th</sup> of April, Ignatius and his companions, after visiting the seven Basilicas and partaking of Holy Communion at S. Paul's, pronounced the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience as much towards their superior as towards the Pope, no matter whither he might send them to preach the faith.

The Society of Jesus was first established at Rome in S. Maria-de-Strata. Ignatius, who had been elected General, opened catechism classes both for children and adults. At S. Marta he founded a refuge for penitent women; at S. Maria-in-Aquiro and at S. Bartolomeo-in-Isola (2) schools for orphans of both sexes; at S. Caterina de' Funari a Magdalen asylum for the daughters of courtesans, and for poor girls who, after having left the asylum, might become widows, or were forcibly obliged to separate from their husbands. Finally, he established the German College, at S. Apollinaris, near the Torre sanguigna, destined to train up missionaries for Germany and Hungary. (3)

(1) See his legend, Brev. Rom. 31<sup>st</sup> of July.

(2) The asylum of S. Bartolomeo was transferred to Quattro-Santi by Pius IV.

(3) The German College saved Germany. Among its pupils at the end of the last century might be enumerated one Pope

Thus no position in life, not one vice or moral suffering, escaped the solicitude of the Society of Jesus. Instruction in all its branches, religious education to develop mind and heart, the conversion of sinners, the protection of lost girls and those in danger of falling, all these charities fell within the scope of the Society of Jesus, and all were done for the greater glory of God, in accordance with the watchword of Ignatius, "*Ad maiorem Dei gloriam*".

It is pleasant to bring into contact with S. Ignatius another Saint who was at Rome at the same time, and whose ascetic soul absorbed in the contemplation of things divine that abundant charity which excited the more impetuous heart of Loyola. S. Philip Neri was so completely wrapt up in his longings for heaven that he required no such awakening as had befallen Ignatius, nor such long meditations upon a bed of suffering, to direct him on his destined path. In his youth he renounced the heritage of an uncle, who wished to establish him in business, and, being thus free as regards the world, he went to Rome in order to study philosophy and theology. His features, wan from fasting, but rendered beautiful by their expression of sanctity, distinguished him from other young men. S. Philip frequently visited the great Roman Basilicas accompanied by certain friends who partially shared his views; and in the stillness of night, when churches were closed, and not a sound was heard, he would descend into the Catacomb of Calixtus, where, kneeling

(Gregory XV), twenty-four Cardinals, several Princes, two hundred and forty-two Bishops, forty-six Abbots or heads of Orders, thirteen martyrs for the Faith, and eleven martyrs for Charity.

amid the relics of martyrs, he would remain wrapt in meditation and prayer. This supernatural life enabled him to struggle with sensual temptations from which no one is exempt, and which assailed him until his fiftieth year. Whatever ardour he felt was directed to God; and, according to his biographers, he languished beneath the weight of Divine Love, "*charitate Dei vulneratus languebat jugitè*"; lavishing this love on the poor and unfortunate, on pilgrims, and upon all those wellbeloved of Providence who are intended to represent the poverty and sufferings of Jesus Christ.

S. Philip first joined a confraternity which had been founded in 1519 at S. Girolamo-della-Carità for the purpose of bearing the solace of Christian love to all who were in want of help or comfort; then, as the Jubilee of 1550 drew near, he founded a new Congregation in the church of S. Silvestro-in-Campo, to attend on foreign pilgrims who came to Rome during the Holy Year. In 1548, Paul III approved of this Congregation under the title of La Trinità; its members wore a red robe, emblem of the fire of love. In the third year of its existence, the brotherhood of La Trinità was rich enough to entertain six hundred pilgrims in a house generously given to them by Elena Orsini in the Baths of Agrippina. Some years later, Paul IV gave to the Congregation the church of S. Benedetto-alla-Regola which they rebuilt, and at the same time a large edifice was so arranged that nine hundred and forty persons could be admitted at one time. To this day pilgrims are waited upon by the members of the Confraternity, many of

whom belong to the first families of Rome; and every evening travellers' feet are washed by them, in remembrance of the Saviour's humility and as a token of the sweet brotherhood of Christian equality. When the Holy Year was ended, S. Philip Neri made use of these zealous Brothers of La Trinità to nurse convalescents, who on leaving hospitals were still too weak for work. These were welcomed in the pilgrims' home, and they were not sent back to their families until health was restored and employment had been found for them.

While SS. Ignatius and Philip Neri were founding their charitable institutions, two gentlemen of Navarre, Don Ferrente Ruiz and Don Angelo Bruno, opened a mad-house on the Piazza Colonna, and a Confraternity was formed to undertake its duties. All these admirable works were either completed or begun during Paul III pontificate; he encouraged and assisted their development by his influence and good advice.

Diplomatists were ever on the watch against the Pontiff's quick and penetrating intelligence; his fluency and easy manners often concealed deep laid plans, but in his moments of relaxation, with those who enjoyed his intimacy, Paul III was like a father with his children, speaking to them without reserve and expecting the same frankness from them. This "good old man", as Cardinal Contarini called him, died on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1549 aged eighty-two.

Charles V visited Rome during his pontificate: the account of his reception in the town devastated by his troops is interesting to read. The Emperor

arrived from Naples, entering the city on horseback between the Dean of the Sacred College and Cardinal Farnese, the Pope's nephew. Several nobles carried a gold and white damask canopy over his head, and all the Cardinals followed him riding their mules two by two. The gentlemen's horses caracolled, townsfolk stood under arms, streets were carpeted, and several buildings were pulled down "to make the road wider and straighter, particularly the Temple of Peace, which had been long preserved out of respect for ancient buildings, as are still several other buildings and ruins at Rome". (1) On the Piazza di Venezia, San-Gallo had erected a triumphal arch, adorned with statues of Princes of the House of Austria and of chained captives at the corners; this ephemeral monument rivalled in beauty all that antiquity had left of magnificence in this style. (2)

Charles was conducted to S. Peter's, where, having prayed at the Apostle's tomb, he proceeded to kiss the Pope's feet, who awaited him seated upon his throne. He then entered the Vatican where he found that apartments had been prepared for him in that part of the palace which faces the city, and which were the same that Charles VIII had occupied on his return from Naples.

These public rejoicings were doubtless a tribute paid to the conqueror of Barbarossa, to the fortunate warrior who was returning from Africa with twenty-two thousand enfranchised Christian slaves. Perhaps,

(1) "*Mémoires de Du Bellay*"; book V.

(2) See Quatremère de Quincy's "*Vie d'Antoine de San-Gallo*".

too, they served as a political veil to conceal deep resentment and wounded feelings. When Charles V ascended to the cupola of the Pantheon, a young man who acted as his guide was for a moment tempted to hurl him down through the central aperture, in order to avenge his country for the disasters of 1527. Afterwards having admitted this to his father, the old Roman replied, "My son, those are things to do, but not to talk about." (1)

Charles, however, during the thirteen days he spent in Rome endeavoured to calm the feelings his presence must have excited. He distributed gold chains and medals to all the prelates and persons of note in the city; the Cardinals received some African curiosities; several families were ennobled; commercial privileges were granted; the populace daily benefitted by imperial liberality; and 6,000 crowns were divided as dowries among twenty-four maidens. When Charles V left Rome, he was met by girls wearing garlands, who strewed flowers before him while singing his praises. (2)

JULIUS III who succeeded Paul III had been his legate at the Council of Trent, where he distinguished himself by such severity that the Cardinals were almost

(1) Anecdote from M. Valéry's "Indicateur".

(2) It was during this sojourn in Rome that Charles V, in full Consistory, lost his temper when speaking about Francis I, whose ambassadors were present; he challenged him to settle their differences man to man, as David and others had formerly done, by sword or dagger, clad in their shirts, either on a bridge, or in a boat, or on an island. The ambassadors answered the Emperor's bravado in appropriate terms.



afraid of raising him to the pontifical throne. The cares of government so confused him that he treated the serious affairs of Christendom without either zeal or judgment. The Council was suspended with regret; and, while the Lutherans were strong enough to secure an authentic guarantee for their interests by the Convention of Passau, while Calvin was burning Servetus at Geneva, and simultaneously attacking the Eucharist, the invocation of saints, festivals, benedictions, and the outward pomp of worship, Julius III withdrew to his lovely Villa near the Ponte-Molle, in order to escape from his continual worries. When Julius wished to rouse himself from this apathy, arising from want of self-confidence, he ill selected his time. The war which he declared against Ottavio Farnese, for having summoned the French to Parma, nearly brought on a general disturbance. Charles V joined in, as defender of the Church; but Henry II of France declared he would support the Protestant party in Germany, and Marshal de Brissac, his lieutenant in Italy, conducted the military operations with such bold vigour that the Pope was quite as anxious to make peace as he had been to break it.

It is therefore only as a magnificent Prince and patron of art that Julius III can be considered here. His weak health induced him to lead a life of ease and liberty. The beautiful Villa he built for himself has become famous in the history of art as the Vineyard of Pope Julius. Michael Angelo, Vasari, and Vignola, all helped in its design; the nymphs and fountains were by Ammanati, and the paintings by Taddeo Zuccari. A view of the seven hills of Rome

were to be seen from a pretty gallery, and the old Pontiff enjoyed his rambles through shady alleys amid quite a maze of hills and dales, which divided the bridge, where Maxentius fell, from the Eternal City.

At the same time, and close to this charming residence, Julius ordered the church of S. Andrea to be built after designs by Vignola. This architect first gained repute in the days of Paul III, and soon equalled the best artists of his day by such works as the Palatine vineyard, the loggia of the Campo di Fiore Palace, and the splendid Castle of Caprarola.

MARCELLUS II only reigned a few days; but they were days of hope for Catholics, who beheld a man of austere and dignified character upon the throne whose whole life had been blameless. Far from yielding to family influence, as some of his predecessors had done, Marcellus forbade his relatives to come to Rome; he carried out retrenchment in expenditure, endeavoured to restore all its splendour to divine service, and entertained the idea of re-opening the Council; but historians of the period say that the "world was unworthy of him", and he died without having been able to realise his intentions with regard to society.

His successor was Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, the enthusiastic companion of Gaetano di Teano, a man whose apostolic zeal had not been weakened either by years or labour. His lofty stature, worn features, and keen eyes, inspired both respect and fear. It was easy to perceive that he was a man inured to every difficulty of life, and that, in spite of his years, he still had sufficient energy to overcome them.

Caraffa had passed through very stormy periods without yielding to the seductions of pleasure or the ambition of power. He had been private chamberlain to Alexander VI, Archbishop under Julius II, Nuncio under Leo X, Cardinal under Paul III, all the higher dignities had come to him unsought, and, a contemporary ambassador remarks, "when he was elected Pope, it was against the individual opinion of every Cardinal, and probably against his own". (1)

PAUL IV, the name he adopted, possessed many qualities valuable in a Prince and particularly so in a Bishop. All his actions were stamped with dignity and greatness. Erasmus, who had met him in England, praises his rare eloquence, the influence he had acquired, even from his youth, by his reserved manner, and the great piety he united with most profound erudition. Since then, alone in his cell, events had succeeded each other without his looking upon them in any other light than as requiring an immediate and complete reformation, and his holy love for truth had daily increased, in proportion as he witnessed vices and weakness.

The ceremony of his enthronement was marked by unusual pomp, for, though humble himself, the Pontiff determined that the tiara should be surrounded by all the magnificence due to its triple crown. Paul IV advanced beneath a canopy of cloth of gold held over him by all the foreign ambassadors. His mitre was studded with precious stones, the grooms

(1) Fu eletto Pontefice contra il parer e credere di ogn'uno, e forse anco di se stesso. -- Alvisio Mocenigo, cited by Ranke.

and officers of his household were arrayed in scarlet robes. No sooner had he returned to the Vatican than he held Consistories for the reform of abuses, and gave himself up to serious work.

The new Pontiff had always been an advocate for peace, and, in view of the differences arising with heretics, he wished all Catholics to be conciliating. Notwithstanding these principles he became embroiled in a bitter war with Spain, which country he blamed for being too lenient with heretics, and also for her wide-spread haughty dominion which even embraced the Roman States.

Paul had always energetically and consistently condemned nepotism; yet he lavished favours upon his own nephews because they assisted him in his plans. Twice during his pontificate the Duke of Alba's banners had waved before the gates of Rome. On the first occasion they were repulsed by the populace; but, on the second, no resistance on the part of the Romans could have availed, because the battle of S. Quentin had finally decided the superiority of Philip II arms, so the Pope was compelled to submit to the victor's conditions.

Sad thoughts must have afflicted the Pontiff when he had time calmly to reflect on the past, and saw his mistakes. His nephews had become more wealthy than had been those of Julius III; Philip II was more powerful than ever; in Germany, Protestants supported by the Emperor were strong and asserting their independence; Catholics were disunited; so he must have asked himself, with bitter grieving, whether these were the results he had anticipated. He himself

was unchanged; devout, austere, and energetic, but quite unable to cope with the difficulties which surrounded him. Yet, throughout, he maintained the dignity of his character and position, striking at the root of every evil; so the Roman court, the Sacred College, the clergy, and monastic Orders listened to his voice and respected him; fasts were observed; scandalous pictures were removed out of churches; unfrocked monks expelled from the Roman States; Cardinals re-appeared in their pulpits, and a medal was struck in honour of the Pope which represented Jesus Christ driving the money changers out of the Temple.

Paul IV deep sense of Justice prevented him from sparing his nephews. One day, when emphasizing the word "Reform", Cardinal Pacheco remarked, "Holy Father, reform should begin among ourselves". This indirect reproof made a profound impression upon the Pope. Cardinal Caraffa and his brother were closely watched, and their friends and intimates were compelled to confess their misdemeanors on oath. Paul heard things which he had never suspected, as disclosures poured in from all quarters, and the poor Pontiff felt so completely crushed that he was unable either to eat or sleep, and was attacked by fever which confined him to his bed. When the white haired man of ninety-two had sufficiently recovered he summoned the Sacred College, and, although the septuagenarian mother of the Caraffa bent double from illness dragged herself before him, the Pontiff repulsed her and entered the hall where the Cardinals awaited him in silence. Thereupon Paul addressed

them, declaring, before God and man, that he was ignorant of his nephews' evil doings until the day when he had deprived them of their honours. He then exiled them with their families to different places in the Roman States. Every one present listened with respectful awe, no one daring to stir; the Pope alone appeared unmoved, as duty had strengthened his resolve to sever the ties which had bound him to men who had basely deceived him. He then, with the utmost composure, turned his attention to important Church matters. From that moment all mention of his dearly loved nephews was forbidden, only one member of his family remained with him, the son of the Duke of Paliano, an upright youth who had already been raised to the purple.

Such was Paul IV; his character was incomplete, but he was energetic, wholly devoted to God's cause, and a strict upholder of the traditions of the Church.

On his accession to power, the Romans erected a statue to him out of gratitude for having relieved them from taxation; but after his death they destroyed and flung it into the mud. Many distinguished nobles joined in the tumult, as did also Jews, who resented having been condemned to live in one quarter of the city and wear a distinctive dress by Paul's orders. The mob wished to demolish the buildings he had erected; all inscriptions that might recall the Caraffa were removed by order of the Senate. The old Pontiff had with his dying breath requested the Sacred College to say Masses for the repose of his soul, and protect the Holy Office, which chiefly owed its establishment at Rome to him; however, after his death,

a turbulent crowd besieged the palace of the Inquisition, released prisoners, burnt legal documents, and it needed all the influence of Giuliano Cesarini and Marc' Antonio Colonna to prevent the mob from destroying La Minerva.

This opposition and these passing troubles in no way checked the onward progress of the religious movement, which was indeed manifesting itself with increased vigour. Scarcely had the Society of Jesus sent forth its zealous apostles to all parts of the globe than pious institutions were formed around them, and the holy discipline of former days revived among the clergy and the young. By 1556 S. Ignatius Loyola had already founded more than a hundred colleges, without counting professed houses. He had establishments in every country of Europe, even at Constantinople, as well as in Jerusalem, Cyprus, Ethiopia, on the Congo and in Brazil; he sent missionaries as far as China, and had divided the whole universe into twelve provinces: it may be said that he directed all these colleges from his little cell at Rome. Lastly, in the very centre of Rome, through the liberality of the Duke of Gandia, and under the eyes of S. Ignatius, a magnificent college was built which became a model for all those of Christendom. Contrary to the custom hitherto adopted, modern and ancient languages were taught; for S. Ignatius was aware that, in order to obtain influence over men, it was necessary to be more a man of the present and future than one of the past. By another remarkable innovation he wished that the study of natural and mathematical sciences should enable young people to join in the scientific

progress of the time. So long as it was not a question of Catholic doctrine, of that corner-stone placed by God Himself, he did his utmost to develop a spirit of enquiry, cultivating the intelligence of his pupils with that tender care that is devoted to graceful but delicate plants. Above all he tried to train hearts to piety, and souls to be recollected and self-denying. Sweetness and mutual good-will distinguished the relations between him and those confided to his care; their happiness was as much in his mind as was their work, and he erected a house near S. Balbina in order that distraction, pure air, and enjoyment of the country might benefit their health. (1)

S. Ignatius was so completely absorbed in heaven that he appeared to breathe the very air of Paradise. It was difficult to recognize the fiery knight of Pamplona in this retiring religious, who carried humility to the pitch of heroism and patience to the point of making it an element of strength; the stately gentleman of King Ferdinand's Court, in the professor, the sick nurse who devoted himself to the last in tending every human malady, in obedience to his divine vocation. When his bodily powers were failing, and it became necessary to aid him in the many duties he had undertaken, he still continued to visit the sick. Life was ebbing from him, but he

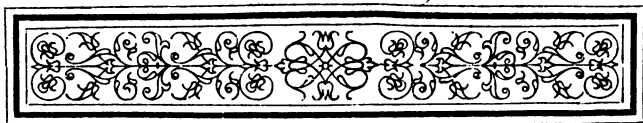
(1) The Roman College has been a model for all future colleges. Among its pupils were eight Popes: Urban VIII, Innocent X, Clement IX, Innocent XII, Clement XI, Innocent XIII, and Clement XII, and other holy men among whom were, S. Camillus of Lellis, Blessed Leonard of Port Maurice, the Venerable Peter Berna, etc.



seemed always to revive when it was a question of bearing solace and help to others.

Ignatius died on the 31<sup>st</sup> of July 1556, at the age of sixty-five. A few days before his death he asked to be carried to S. Balbina, hoping to derive benefit from country air. Finding his expectations were not realised he returned to the professed house and drew up, by way of testament, certain rules for his religious children, after which he asked the Pope for his apostolic blessing. Still those around him did not appear to consider him in danger. On the morning of the 31<sup>st</sup> of July they endeavoured to revive his strength; but S. Ignatius signed to them that it was too late; his failing voice made a supreme effort, the name of Jesus was heard, and, while uttering this cry of his whole life, his spirit passed away.





## CHAPTER XIX.

Non serba il Vatican l'antico volto  
Che sulle terga eterne  
Ha maggior templo e maggior nume accolto.  
*Alessandro Guidi.*

### SIXTEENTH CENTURY

(CONTINUED).

**T**HE Basilica of S. Peter, that great conception of the sixteenth century, was at length nearing the limits assigned to it by Michael Angelo. Its bold dome soared towards heaven, and the aged architect, in spite of his eighty years, still found strength to finish this gigantic undertaking which had already exhausted the lives of four artists before his own.

We have already seen that the first conception of this Basilica belonged to Bramante, to him first occurred the idea of building the Pantheon over the arches of the Temple of Peace; this is his share in its glory, for all the exterior work that remains of Julius II architect are the pillars which support the dome; but even their proportions have been so much altered that the original design is scarcely percep-

tible. (1) After Bramante's death serious dilapidations threatened the existence of his work. The rapidity with which he always worked was detrimental to the solidity of his structures, and the swampy nature of the soil, on which the church was being built, required every resource of art to ensure durability for such a heavy edifice. Raphael therefore devoted himself to strengthening Bramante's work, and his plan was much the same as that of his predecessor. But he decided on changing the Latin cross into one with four equal arms. Baldassare Peruzzi, who succeeded him, also modified the design, without, however, interfering with the general effect; he also completed the tribune or apse, at the end of the church. He was followed by Antonio di San-Gallo, the most renowned of all the architects of the sixteenth century for the great strength of his buildings. San-Gallo spent vast sums and laid mountains of stones in the foundations; he also conceived a new scheme which should embrace every style of ancient architecture. The Basilica was to be in the form of a Greek cross, and preceded by a vast vestibule which was to resemble an outer temple. The dome was to be retained; but the unity, which had been a leading principle with former architects, gave way to a complex arrangement of porticoes and arches rising one above another, of belfries, pyramids, and spires. Within the building the straight line, which had been a necessity to artists of the Renaissance, was

(1) These pillars which were only 22ft. 11in. and 45ft. 11in. wide have been augmented to about a thickness of 29ft. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 62 ft.

continually broken up by recesses and chapels. So, when Michael Angelo was entrusted with the works, he contemptuously called San-Gallo's creation "Tudesque", and, with one stroke of his pen, restored the monument to that unity of conception and effect which in his opinion was inseparable from greatness. (1)

Michael Angelo had hesitated to undertake the building of S. Peter's, not only on account of his advanced age but because of the abuses which had crept into the management of this vast enterprise. The entreaties of Paul III, however, overcame his objections, though they could not induce him to accept the salary enjoyed by his predecessors. For seventeen years the old artist worked on for the love of God, without either rest or respite, instilling the energy of his own soul into his workmen, and repressing the cupidity of those idlers who for fifty years had been living at ease on the alms of Christendom. Rome beheld this immense Basilica rising day by day, and, eleven years after Michael Angelo's appointment to the post of chief architect, the walls, the apses of the transepts, the windows and chapels were finished, and the dome towered above the Roman Campagna.

It was not granted to the great artist to behold the completion of his work, although he witnessed the respect and holy veneration it inspired. Pirro Ligorio, who assisted him in his old age, having wished to substitute, in a few details, his own ideas for those of Michael Angelo was dismissed by Pius IV.

(1) Consult "*Vies des architectes célèbres*" by M. Quatremère de Quincy.

Michael Angelo's plan was sacred, and for many years no one might alter it without infringing the orders of the Popes, and incurring public indignation. Thus the top of the dome, constructed by Giacomo della Porta and Domenico Fontana, as well as the two small cupolas, built by Vignola (1), were only the counterpart of the master's designs; the same cannot, however, be said of the alterations made in the edifice, during the following century, by Carlo Maderna, which materially altered its aspect. In Michael Angelo's plan the church was almost limited to the dome, the four arms of the cross appearing only as a foundation to the colossus. There was thus a great contrast between the height of the dome and the slight depth of the naves, whereby the effect of the dome was increased; but, when the principal nave was lengthened, several vastnesses competed with one another, thus rendering the effect of comparison no longer so conspicuous.

S. Peter's Basilica, the Porta Pia, the Christ of S. Agnes, and the Church of S. Maria-degli-Angeli are the last remembrances left at Rome of the great Buonarroti. The church of S. Maria-degli-Angeli was constructed within the spacious halls of Diocletian's Baths, where formerly stood the small church of S. Cyriacus. Diocletian's majestic edifice with its imposing granite columns was built, according to the orders of the aged tyrant, by Christian workmen awaiting martyrdom, who have in many places marked their work with the sign of the Cross.

(1) Barozzio is so called. (Note by translator.)

Of Diocletian Balzac remarks:— “When he set poor Christians to work at his baths he never intended to build churches for their successors, nor dreamt of becoming the founder, as in truth he was, of a monastery for the Chartreux Fathers, or of one for the Feuillantines Fathers, . . . . (1) It was at the expense of Diocletian, with his stone and cement, that altars and chapels were erected to Jesus Christ, and dormitories and refectories for His servants. Thus does God’s Providence make light of men’s schemes, and results differ from intentions, when earth has one design and heaven another.”

Michael Angelo united dignity of character with great talent. He is sometimes accused of envy. He probably prevented the completion of the Porta S. Spirito, begun by San-Gallo, a monument remarkable for its solidity, despite its unfinished character; but this jealousy rather concerned the principles of art than personal or private feelings. Thus, although Bramante had opposed him, Michael Angelo extolled his talents, and speaking of S. Peter’s said, “Whoever deviates from Bramante’s plans deviates from the truth”. His nobility of mind, rough manners, and wild mode of life were natural to him. When he was erecting the dome for S. Peter’s he was full of praise for the one Brunelleschi had placed over S. Maria dei Fiore. He said, “I wish to be buried at S. Croce in Florence, that I may always behold Brunelleschi’s Cupola”.

(1) The Chartreux and Feuillantines inhabit a portion of the Baths.

Buonarroti was of a serious and retiring disposition which made him an artistic hermit. While Bramante displayed the luxury of a Prince, and Raphael was surrounded by courtiers and admirers, and San-Gallo was building a beautiful palace for himself in the finest street of Rome (1), Michael Angelo resided in a small house, opening his own door to visitors. He was untidy in appearance, only undressed once a month, slept little, never entertained guests, although very wealthy; but he spent his riches on the needy, and gave dowries to poor girls. He had no pupils, and only claimed friendship with four or five artists, Sebastiano del Piombo, Pontorme, Daniele di Volterra, and Vasari. He never married, but found a kindred soul in Vittoria Colonna, the virtuous widow of the Marchese di Pescara. Her sympathy filled him with "that joy which smiles eternally in heaven". (2)

Michael Angelo's productions have ever been objects of fanatical admiration. As an architect he was too exclusive, and could not perceive grandeur or true art in any style but his own; as a painter and sculptor he thought too much about technicalities, but in spite of this he must be considered one of the greatest geniuses of that period. Raphael commands admiration by his youth and beauty, as, surrounded by zealous pupils, he paints the "Dispute on the Blessed Sacrament", and the "Bella Jardiniera"; but Michael Angelo is sublime when, kneeling before his crucifix, he exclaims, "Lord, I beseech Thee to make

(1) The Palazzo Sachetti, in the Strada Giulia.

(2) Michael Angelo's poems.

Thyself visible to me everywhere, for, when I am warmed by Thy light, all other zeal will be extinguished in my soul, which will live eternally in Thy love" (1), then rising from his knees, filled with ardour, he takes up his tools and sculptures the "Pietà" at the Vatican, or the "Christ" at the Minerva.

This illustrious artist died at Rome aged eighty-eight; his body was borne to the church of the SS. Apostoli followed by artists, Church dignitaries, and a vast concourse of people. Rome would have been proud to possess his remains; but Florence claimed him, and Cosimo di Medici sent agents to carry off the body secretly and convey it to S. Croce, the burial place of Tuscan celebrities.

Michael Angelo was the last great artist of Julius II period. After Raphael, Bramante, Peruzzi, and San-Gallo had passed away, Michael Angelo was still living; when he died, there seemed to come a day of universal mourning for art. Still, here and there, several talented men came to the front: Vignola, celebrated for his designs, planned the church of S. Anna at the foot of the Aventine for the confraternity of the Palfreniere; the oratory Scala Cœli, for the Bernardines; and the church of the Gesù, the gift of Cardinal Farnese, for the Jesuits; Pirro Ligorio, a learned antiquarian, sculptured Paul IV tomb, and constructed the stately Palazzo Lancellotti, on Piazza Navona; Daniele di Volterra painted the "Descent from the Cross" in his old age; Giacomo della Porta

(1) Michael Angelo's poems.



completed the dome of S. Peter's, the Sapienza, the church of S. Paolo-ad-aquas-Salvias, the vaulted roof and façade of the Gesù, the doorway of S. Luigi-dei-Francesi, and laid the foundations of the Palazzo Chigi, and the Villa Aldobrandini; Guglielmo della Porta, his nephew and disciple, built Paul III mausoleum; Ammanati designed the Palazzo Ruspoli and the Collegio Romano; Vasari worked with ease but without originality, and lastly Fontana prepared himself, by studying Michael Angelo's designs, for the great works he was to accomplish for Sixtus V.

Paul IV, though greatly occupied with projects of reform, took an interest in the progress of art. He was fond of conversing with Pirro Ligorio, whose great learning had familiarized him with Roman antiquities. Pius IV, who ascended the apostolic throne in 1559, turned his attention to improvements in the city. The streets of Rome were paved, aqueducts repaired, and poets were heard exclaiming that, if under Augustus the Eternal City was built of marble, under Pius IV she shone like gold. The Porta del Popolo, the Porta Pia, and the street leading to it, date from this period, as well as the soffit and campaniles of S. John Lateran, the Convent of S. Clare, S. Maria-Traspontina, and S. Maria-degli-Angeli.

Pius IV ordered Pirro Ligorio to build the celebrated Villa Pia in the Belvedere Gardens; it was his masterpiece, and is the most perfect imitation of the dwellings of ancient Rome. All the resources of art were exhausted in order to make the Villa a delightful residence. It was surrounded by groves of evergreens, in which were statues, vases, and flower-

beds rising tier above tier, the flowers being constantly kept fresh by spray from ornamental fountains. Marble basins were to be seen, and covered galleries adorned with stucco and paintings; two flights of stairs led to sheltered terraces, where graceful porticoes came in view, and a courtyard paved with mosaic. Stucco, columns, bas-reliefs, paintings by Zuccheri, Baroccio, and Santi di Tito abounded; while from a gallery at the top of the edifice there was a view which commanded the Vatican Gardens, Rome, the Tiber, and the great plain which stretches from the hills of Tibur to the sea.

This charming palace was characteristic of Pius IV. He loved art, repose, and a quiet life; he combined irreproachable morals and true piety with an affability which Paul IV did not possess; his great desire to be beloved made him prefer a simple life to etiquette. He walked about Rome unceremoniously; his conversation was always earnest and gentle; and, if the complicated details of business were repugnant to him, it was only because his natural openness of character found difficulty in grasping worldly interests.

Pius IV had the honour of possessing a saint in his own family, Charles Borromeo, and knew how to profit by his example and advice. The Pontiff summoned him to Rome in 1560, and raised him to the purple when only just twenty-two years of age. His virtues and great genius justified these precocious honours. In addition to these qualities, he had a talent for administration, and a sound judgment which could not be imposed upon. This youth governed Rome and Christendom for several years with energy

and success. He was clever in discerning merit, and after his day's work he used to entertain distinguished and talented men at the Vatican. These meetings became celebrated under the name of "Noctes Vaticanæ". Among his guests were Francesco Alciati, Charles Borromeo's former tutor at Pavia, who assisted him by his experience; Sperone-Speroni, whose setting star witnessed the rise of Tasso; Alessandro Simonetta, and a host of young noblemen, Visconti, Gonzaga, Baron Sfondrato, Ugo Buoncompagno, afterwards Gregory XIII, and nearly all the illustrious literati of the sixteenth century.

In addition to these was a youth named Silvio Antoniano born at Rome of humble parents. He was known as "the little poet" (*il poetino*), and when Silvio, lyre in hand, gave vent to his feelings his audience were entranced. Many marvels were related about him. It was said that one day a nightingale, captivated by his sweet melody, came outside his window to join in his song. (1) Another time, during a merry banquet, while Silvio was singing, Cardinal Farnese gave him a wreath saying, "Poet, crown the man among us who is destined to wear the tiara". Silvio resumed his lyre, burst forth into praises of the Cardinal Medici, and placed the wreath upon his brow. (2)

(1) "*Rem miram audi: dūm canit Sylvius, advolat Philomela avicula, in proprioribus ædibus muro consistit, cæpit et ipsa, illo suo vario gutture, ad lyræ sonum respondere.*" Letter by Ricca to Pigna.

(2) See *Erithreus* and *Mazzuchelli*.

When Cardinal Medici ascended the throne under the name of Pius IV he summoned Antoniano to the Vatican, appointing him secretary to his nephew, Carlo Borromeo. Henceforth a great affection existed between these two devout young men; the deference of manner due from Antoniano to the Cardinal only enhancing their friendship.

During the reign of Pius IV, the Vatican was surrounded by an atmosphere of science and virtue. Pleasure seekers, who had formerly infested the Roman Court, were no longer there, but men of grave demeanour and liberal views. Such were Seripando, Sirlet, and Commendone, all of whom were raised to the purple by Pius IV. Fortune and nature had combined to shower gifts on Seripando; he was a learned theologian, a fluent and eloquent orator, who attained unsought the highest dignities; both at the Imperial Court and at the Vatican he often regretted his quiet retreat and studies at Posilipo. Sirlet spoke Latin, Greek, and Hebrew with the same ease as his mother tongue, and his memory was marvellous. Seripando used to say of him that he was indefatigable, and did more by himself than fifty prelates together. In his leisure Sirlet used to collect little street children on their way to market, buy up their goods and then instruct them in the mysteries of religion and in the goodness of God. Cardinal Commendone's fame was European. There was no princely Court to which he had not been sent on important missions, and where his readiness and eloquence had not been admired.

Charles Borromeo encouraged every pious work; he was at the head of the "Monte Santo", whose

rules he modified, and was a generous protector of the Confraternity of Pity for the mentally afflicted; he constantly nursed the sick or comforted them with kind words in the hospital and church of S. Ambrose of the Lombards. (1)

The re-opening of the Council of Trent was due to S. Charles Borromeo, its sessions having been suspended by Julius III. Pius IV again convoked all the prelates of Christendom, and those around the Pontiff felt the necessity for setting an example of reform in their own circle. S. Charles Borromeo, although he was a pious man, had kept up an appearance of grandeur which he considered necessary to his position; this he now laid aside in deference to the opinion of the Council. He dismissed a retinue of eighty servants, ceased wearing silk apparel, renounced all luxuries, and fasted on bread and water once a week. The "*Noctes Vaticanæ*" were in future specially devoted to sacred literature, and he often made a pilgrimage at night to S. Maria-Maggiore where he remained for hours buried in heavenly contemplation. (2)

(1) The Archconfraternity of the Holy Apostles was instituted about this time: its members visited the humble poor, employed doctors in different quarters of the town, and kept a free dispensary.

(2) As Cardinal, S. Charles first bore the title of SS. Vitus and Modestus, subsequently that of S. Praxedes, and the church of that name owes its façade, high altar, porphyry columns and choir stalls to him. In the adjoining house, where S. Charles is supposed to have lodged, his mitre and episcopal robe are preserved. S. Charles was finally Archpriest of S. Maria-Maggiore.

Meanwhile the Council of Trent pursued its great legislative work. Catholic dogma was defined on all those points controverted by Protestants, with its rights and reciprocal obligations, upon definite canons, and a beginning was made of disciplinary reform. The establishment of a seminary in every diocese was ordained; the administration of parishes, preaching, the supervision of the clergy were provided for by definite regulations; then steps were taken to restore the dignity of Church ceremonials, and the great question arose as to whether florid music should be permitted in churches, or whether the plain chants of the ancient liturgy should be maintained. (1)

- Music, like other arts, had become secularized, and the Council of Trent inveighed against this profanation of the churches. A commission was appointed, of which S. Charles was a member, to examine the question in all its aspects. The Commission decreed that concerted music should be for ever forbidden, unless the religious character proper to sacred harmony could be also preserved, and Palestrina was entrusted to produce such a composition.

Palestrina was born in the town whose name he bore, and it was at Rome, beneath the shadow of the pontifical throne, and in the holy atmosphere of her churches, thronged with pilgrims, that his

(1) Gregory the Great had determined the style of ecclesiastical music by fixed rules, and permitted neither endless variety in the value of notes, nor profoundly expressive inflections. Church singing was to be calm, serene, impressive, and in unison.

genius was developed. He studied under Goudimel, one of those Flemish composers who, with Josquin-Deprez and Rolands-Heer-Claes, had elevated the power of music. Palestrina afterwards became a teacher, and, as M. Müller observes, "perhaps he possessed calmness and beatitude more than anybody else." (1)

During Pius IV reign, Palestrina was a member of the Papal Choir; but he had to leave when he married. He then retired to a cottage among the vines of Mount Cælius, where alone, forgotten by the world, he gave himself up for many a long day to that spirit of meditation which develops the creative powers of man. Being apprised of the decision of the Fathers of the Council, he took up his pen and wrote the words, "O God enlighten me," on his MS., after which he began his work with pious ardour. His first efforts were not satisfactory, but at length he felt inspired, and his poetic melody enthralled all hearts. His Mass of Pope Marcellus finally decided the question, and Pius IV exclaimed that he thought he had been listening to angelic choirs. (2)

(1) "Introduction historique esthétique à la science de la Tonification."

(2) See Giuseppe Baini's "Mémoires sur Palestrina". For everything relating to religious music one cannot do better than read M. J. d'Ortigue's work called "Cours de Musique". Victor Hugo worthily extolled Palestrina in "Les Rayons et les Ombres":—

"Puissant Palestrina, vieux maître, Vieux génie  
Je vous salue ici, père de l'harmonie!

. . . . .  
D'ou lui vient cette voix qu'on écoute à genoux?"

One of the decrees of the Council of Trent produced an immediate effect at Rome, that of erecting seminaries. Pius IV founded the Roman seminary, which he placed under the direction of the Jesuits who had first started an establishment of that kind.

For several centuries universities had been the only educational houses in which everything was taught; Grammar, Theology, Law and Medicine. The students only attended the lectures, but resided in miserable lodgings where they were under no control. The Capranica College at Rome, which was founded in 1460 by the munificence of the Cardinal of that name, was the first institution which boarded them. Thirty-two ecclesiastical students were admitted to this college, under the direction of the Archconfraternity of the Saviour; they remained in residence seven years, and wore black serge gowns bordered with violet. Soon afterwards the Nardini College was opened for students from Romagna. These colleges were as yet only houses to protect the young from Jewish usurers, and from the temptations which arise from being independent; the students were allowed plenty of freedom, and went out for lectures and masters.

Such had been the state of affairs when S. Ignatius came to Rome. One of his first considerations was to form the minds of ecclesiastical students by a system of retirement, varied studies, the practice of discipline in community, and by pious self-denying lives. He earnestly desired to send fervent, thoroughly well trained, Catholics to the German heretics. The German College was accordingly founded, and, sub-



sequently, the Roman Seminary was an offshoot from S. Ignatius's principal foundation.

Thus progress towards virtue continued without interruption. Tiepolo wrote, "All Rome is striving to rise from the discredit into which she has fallen, she has become more Christian in her morals and manner of living. One may even say that, as regards religion, she is as nearly perfect as human nature will permit." (1) However, this return to order was not sufficiently speedy and complete to satisfy some disaffected persons, among whom Benedetto Accolti endeavoured to stimulate further discontent and mutiny. He called himself a prophet, and offered to prove his mission by walking through a burning pile on the piazza Nayona; he also foretold the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches, and the submission of the Turks and apostates under the government of a holy man, who should establish a universal monarchy. Pius IV was the object of his bitterest attacks; and several debtors profited by his excitement to make it serve their own ends. They gathered round him, formed a faction, and undertook to deliver the Church from its unworthy head. The occasion of a Procession was chosen for this crime; but, on beholding the Pontiff in all the splendour of his dignity, Accolti trembled, his accomplice, the Count of Canossa, was equally taken aback, and the plot might have remained a mystery, had not the conspirators unluckily for themselves allowed their design to leak out. They were all put to death.

(1) Quoted by Ranke.

A few months later Pius IV died: in spite of his gentleness and amiable disposition the Romans had ceased to care for him, and no regrets followed him to the tomb. We have already mentioned the principal works he carried out at Rome; to these must be added the fortifications of the Borgo, and the pontifical printing press, the management of which he confided to Paolo Manucio.

Michele Ghislieri, who succeeded him as Pius V, was an austere monk, born of a poor and exiled family (1); he owed his elevation solely to his asceticism and unbending principles. During a period of religious reaction, the Dominican Ghislieri became leader of all those whose zeal was subservient neither to worldly fashions nor to political considerations. The spirit of Paul IV lived again in him; his blameless life and steady piety were so admired by S. Charles Borromeo that he used all his influence to secure him a majority of votes in the Conclave.

Pius V was elected on the 7<sup>th</sup> of January 1566: sixteen years before, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of December 1550, Michele Ghislieri had entered Rome, hungry and worn out with fatigue, directing his course towards the Aventine, where the Dominicans owned the celebrated monastery of S. Sabina. "On beholding his miserable

(1) The Ghislieri were an ancient Bolognese family who were exiled during civil disturbances in 1445. The Gate of S. Isaias by which they left the city was walled up behind them. 123 years afterwards, in 1568, it was solemnly re-opened during the pontificate of Pius V and was called the Porta Pia. See Comte de Falloux' interesting work "Histoire de saint Pie V".

appearance, the Prior took him to be some vagabond coming to seek his fortune at the pontifical court; so he received him coldly, and even said in a mocking tone, 'What seek you here, Father; have you come hither to find out whether the College of Cardinals will make you Pope?' 'I come', replied Ghislieri, 'because the interests of the Church invite me; I will go as soon as my task is accomplished. Until then I ask for a brief hospitality, and a little hay for this mule.'

"The cell into which the Prior put the future Pius V, thinking him a mere adventurer, was close to that in which S. Dominic had lived. Both are now equally venerated sanctuaries." (1)

In order to form a correct estimate of Pius V character it is not sufficient merely to consider the public acts of his pontificate; he must be followed into that life of mortification and trial beneath which his courage never failed. Born shortly before Luther began to preach, his first impressions were bitter sorrow for the attacks made upon God's Church, and an irresistible desire to defend her. As he advanced in years these impressions were strengthened by study, meditation, and the accounts he received of heretical profanations.

Upholding orthodoxy and protecting weak souls, assailed by false doctrines and bad example, became henceforth the ruling motives of his life. He was severe to himself; he never wore a cloak, generally

(1) "Histoire de saint Pie V", by the Comte de Falloux, Vol. I, p. 17.

travelled on foot carrying a bag, and fasted even when overcome by heat. On being appointed Inquisitor of the Faith at Como and Bergamo, he was prudent though energetic, no matter what opposition or menaces he encountered. "Whatever pleases God will happen," he used to remark, and followed the dictates of his conscience with the intrepidity arising from strong convictions.

It might be imagined that a character like Pius V would be very little influenced by emotions such as are experienced by some, for an energetic will leaves little play for feeling; but Pius V was so unselfish and high principled that his natural good qualities were untouched. This man, so determined on questions of faith, was at heart most sweet tempered and amiable. Severe as a judge, on leaving the tribunal he was full of mercy for sinners and compassion for sorrow. His fine features although attenuated bore an expression of profound piety; while his long white beard and monk's habit added to his venerable appearance.

Pius V might often be seen prostrated before the altar, shedding bitter tears, after which his countenance seemed radiant with celestial joy. (1)

(1) Pius V often visited the seven privileged altars at S. Peter's by night. During the Carnival he retired to the monastery of S. Sabina, where he remained in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament; thus propagating the devotion of the Forty Hours, which had just been instituted at Macerata in the March of Ancona. See Comte de Falloux' "Histoire de saint Pie V", Vol. II, p. 175.

His election had rejoiced all devout Christians; many wrote to their friends, "come to Rome with confidence and in haste . . . God has once more raised up Paul IV". However, people feared; and the recollection of Paul IV made them anxious. They dreaded the results of an apostolic severity which no obstacles mitigated. In fact Pius V undertook a work of general reform: strict discipline was enforced in religious houses, prelates were obliged to remain in their dioceses, actions for debt were permitted against Cardinals, bull-fights were forbidden, and prostitutes were banished from Rome.

In dealing with the Catholic Powers, Pius V acted with great decision and from a high sense of duty; he was so convinced of the justice of his own views that he refused to permit either argument or remonstrance. Consequently the Princes treated him with reserve and distrust; but Pius V enforced all the principles of Catholicity with such authority that the Catholic powers rallied around him, and he was at last enabled to realize the dream of his predecessors by directing a formidable expedition against the Turks. This expedition, commanded by Don Juan of Austria, consisted of more than 300 sail, among which were the pontifical galleys commanded by Marc'Antonio Colonna. The naval victory of the Christians at Lepanto was complete. 130 vessels were taken, 55 sunk, and 25,000 Turks slain. The head of Ali Pasha, the Turkish admiral, was exhibited from Don Juan's ship upon a spear, while his children were sent to Rome, following in the retinue of Colonna to whom the Pope granted triumphal honours. Marc'

-Antonio arrived, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of December 1571, by the ancient Appian way. The governors and principal magistrates gave him a grand reception at S. Sebastian's gate, after which the procession started. First came the spoils and prisoners, among whom were Ali's young children; then large bands of people followed in military array, after which the nobility on horseback gorgeously dressed, (in abito di grande formalità) (1) and finally Marc'Antonio himself, also mounted, while beside him rode the gallant Romegas, Commander of the Knights of S. John; bearing the glorious standard of the fleet.

The road selected for this triumphal march passed successively beneath the Arches of Constantine, Titus, and Septimus Severus, all of which had been decorated with inscriptions for the occasion. That on the Arch of Titus was conspicuous, it ran:— "Rejoice, O Jerusalem! Titus Vespasian led thee captive, Pius V endeavours to set thee free." (2) Elsewhere might be read:— "Roman strength is not dead, Roman courage lives for ever." (3)

Amid vociferous acclamations the conqueror ascended the Capitol; he was then conducted in state to S. Peter's Basilica, where a Te Deum was sung by the Patriarch of Jerusalem; from thence he proceeded to the Vatican, where he and his prisoners were warmly received by Pius V. The Pontiff uttered

(1) Coppi, "Memorie Colonnese", p. 342.

(2) Lætare, Jerusalem, quam Titus Vespasianus captivam duxit, Pius V liberare contendit.

(3) Romanus adhuc viget vigor, Romanaque virtus emicat.

words of kindness and consolation, and all the populace, associating themselves with the Pope's action, according to one of the inscriptions "rejoiced in the Lord, on embracing its illustrious and victorious citizen". (1)

This semi-antique festival was followed by one, modern and religious, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of January. The Roman Senate went in solemn procession to Araceli, the patron-church of the Capitol, where, after public thanksgiving to God, it vowed, in token of gratitude, a gilt soffit to the holy church of the Virgin. Then Marc'Antonio placed a silver column on the altar weighing 30 pounds; it supported a statuette of the Saviour, modelled from one by Michael Angelo in La Minerva; this was intended to represent both the heraldic column of his family, and a solemn homage to God for his victory. On the pedestal there was a bas-relief representing the battle of Lepanto, with the inscription:— "To Christ the Conqueror." (2) These words reflect more honour on Colonna than even his public panegyric in-church by Marc'Antonio Muret.

In order thoroughly to understand what enthusiasm this victory produced throughout Europe it is necessary to recall the terror which the Moslems inspired; they were triumphant in the Mediterranean; its coasts had been ravaged and depopulated twenty times over by

(1) *Exultans in Dominó, clarissimum civem suum victorem, amplectitur Roma.*

(2) *Christo victori, M. Antonius, Ascanii F. pontificiæ classis præfectus, post insignem contra Turcos victoriam, beneficii testandi causâ.*

the Ottomans; Rhodes had fallen; Cyprus had beheld Bragadino, its glorious defender, flayed alive at the moment when, trusting to the sworn articles of capitulation, he had surrendered the keys of Famagusta; finally, Malta, the last bulwark of Christendom, had all but fallen in her turn; and, as in the days of the Saracens, Rome only felt safe in the fortifications of the Leonine City. The victory of Lepanto, so glorious and complete, was therefore not merely a success, but was a revelation of the most startling character for the whole of Europe; at the same time it taught Christendom both its own strength and the weakness of its pitiless enemies. This striking result, obtained by the union of Christian arms, was principally due to Pius V activity and zeal, and to his prayers.

One day, while occupied with some prelates on matters of business at the Vatican, he suddenly made a sign requesting silence, then rising he opened a window where he remained deep in thought. His face and attitude betrayed the liveliest emotion, and at the end of a few minutes he exclaimed, "Let us leave business, and return thanks to God in His church, for our army has been victorious," thereupon he fell on his knees in tears. This occurred on the 7<sup>th</sup> of October, at five o'clock in the afternoon, and at the same moment, 100 leagues away, echoes from the last cannon fired at Lepanto were fading into space.

In commemoration of this triumph of the Cross, Pius V instituted the Feast of Our Lady of Victories, and added the invocation, „Auxilium Christianorum", to the Virgin's Litany.



These pious rejoicings were the last experienced by this holy and zealous Pontiff, for his arduous labours had exhausted his strength. In April 1572, acute sufferings increased his danger, and all hopes of saving his life were abandoned; Pius lay with his hands clasped in prayer, exclaiming, "Lord increase my sufferings and my patience!"

"His best eulogy," said Voltaire, "came from Constantinople, where they instituted rejoicings on hearing of his death."

Bacon, a Protestant, remarked, "I wonder the Roman Church has not canonized this great man." This has since been done. Pius V was universally regretted at Rome; by some on account of his austerity, by others, for his justice. Moreover he was a lover of learning, and one of his first acts as Pope was to make every bishop send a list of the clergy in his diocese who were most distinguished by their learning and virtue, in order that they might receive his protection. When the news of his death spread through Rome, the Vatican was besieged by an eager crowd wishing to touch his body with pieces of linen and valuable objects, in order to preserve them as relics. He was buried at S. Peter's, but subsequently removed to S. Maria-Maggiore, where Sixtus V erected a monument to him.

The brothers of the Order of Charity, instituted by S. John of God, owe their first establishment at Rome to Pius V.

Among the triumphal retinue that accompanied Don Juan of Austria on his return from Lepanto

was a poor man, miserably clad, and of modest demeanour. He was called Sebastian Arias of the "Brothers of John of God". John of God had died without leaving any other rule to his disciples than those beautiful words, which he constantly repeated, "do good, my brothers". Sebastian Arias was now on the way to Rome to obtain Papal authority to found religious houses and hospitals where they might continue to follow the example of devotion left by S. John of God. At Naples Sebastian had met Don Juan, the conqueror of Lepanto, who brought him on to Rome. The hero even undertook to support his request, and Pius V not only granted the Bull they wanted but also a monastery on the island of the Tiber. Gregory XIII furthered Pius V intention by founding a large hospital near the church which had been made over to the Brothers of Charity. These good Brothers wore a habit of white serge, with nothing on their feet or heads. While some nursed the sick, others traversed the streets with a bag to collect alms, pronouncing the words of their holy founder, now their proudest motto:— "Do good, my brothers" (*Fate ben, Fratelli*).

Cardinal Ugo Buoncompagno, who ascended S. Peter's throne on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May 1572 under the name of GREGORY XIII, was a learned man with stately manners. He had already reached extreme old age, and his naturally mild disposition had become too indulgent to others, yet he was zealous and very energetic. The welfare of the Church and the extension of the Faith completely occupied his attention. As soon as he had assumed

the tiara his one purpose was to find Princes who feared to fight neither Mahometanism nor heresy. Gregory XIII was the soul of all Catholic undertakings; and, while the League was being formed in France, while Philip II was commissioning that terrible Armada whose remnants alone were to reach England's shores, Gregory was encouraging the development of intellect by founding colleges at Fulda, Gratz, Prag, Pont-à-Mousson, Douay, Klausenburg, and Olmutz. He founded twenty-three such establishments in different parts of the world, often at his own expense. "There is a vein of gold in the Papal datary," wrote a Venetian Ambassador, "but money never remains in Rome, it comes in springs and flows out in rivers."

Yet, for all that, Rome was not forgotten. The English, Greek, and Maronite Colleges, as well as one for neophytes, were rising at Rome. The German College benefitted by the Pontiff's liberality; the Sapienza was enlarged, and the Roman College became unequalled for its magnificence and excellent instruction. It was thus the Papacy replied to Luther's accusation, that Catholicism wished to stamp out private opinion. Gregory XIII noble impulses pointed out his peculiar genius both as a hard working man and clever lawyer, he having practised as such at Bologna for eight years. He was one of the most distinguished canonists at the Council of Trent; yet, even on attaining the highest rank at the age of seventy, he continued his studies as though he were still young, saying, "It is especially necessary for a Pope to know much".

The sums which he devoted to the development of learning and to assist indigent students amounted

to two million crowns (£ 432,000). Another million was expended in dowries for pauper girls.

A church had long existed opposite S. Maria-di-Monserato, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and S. Thomas of Canterbury, with a hospital attached to it for English pilgrims, Gregory XIII turned this hospital into a College, and placed it under the direction of the Jesuits; it was especially intended for young Englishmen. At the conclusion of their studies these young men were promoted to holy orders, when they returned to preach the faith in their own country. In order to excite their pious zeal one of the College halls was subsequently decorated with portraits of all those martyrs who had been the victims of heretical fury in England.

The church of S. Athanasius was built in 1577, at the foot of Monte Pincio, by Giacomo della Porta for the Greek College which had just been founded by Gregory XIII at the Bishop of Sitia's suggestion. The Greek rite, as approved by the Council of Florence, was alone used in this church; and Greek was the only language spoken in the establishment, in order that the students might never forget it, and thus be able to render eminent service to the Catholic cause in the East.

The College for Neophytes dates from 1579. It was first established near the Minerva, but Urban VIII transferred it to the College of the catechumens, to whom Gregory XIII had given the church of S. Maria-de' Monti, between the Esquiline and the Viminal. This church was then an object of special veneration. In the thirteenth century it had been occupied by

the nuns of S. Clare; but, when they took possession of S. Lorenzo-in-Panisperna, it was abandoned, and hay-stacks were piled among its ruins. In the sixteenth century a picture of the Blessed Virgin, which had remained upon the wall, was miraculously illuminated; abundant alms were collected, and the ancient sanctuary soon rose from its ruins more resplendent than ever.

The Maronite College was founded in 1584, near the small church of S. John the Evangelist, not far from the Fontana di Trevi. The Syriac rite was observed in this establishment, and missionaries went forth from it who succeeded in upholding the true faith among the courageous but unfortunate tribes of the Lebanon.

But it was especially at the Roman College that pontifical munificence was displayed in all its grandeur. It worthily completed what S. Ignatius and the Duke of Gandia had begun.

The Roman College has served as a model for all similar institutions throughout Europe, and still keeps up its ancient reputation. It possesses a library of nearly 70,000 volumes, an observatory, and a museum, partly founded by the celebrated Father Kircher, containing a numerous collection of cameos, medals, vases, bronzes, pottery, old paintings, and curiosities from all countries and all ages, among which are to be seen the sword of the Constable de Bourbon and the pipe of Thomas Kuli-Khan (Nadir-Shah).

But besides these treasures are others less noticed by persons who enter this holy dwelling. Those two

men, who gave it life in the sixteenth century, Ignatius Loyola and Francesco Borgia had dwelt there and made the College a centre for intellectual progress. Their memory hovers, like an incentive and a blessing, over those halls where they once taught, over those pulpits whence they doubtless preached, and over those small cells in which they lived.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the pupils of the Roman College lost a comrade whose gentle docility and angelic virtues had endeared him to all. This youth had been a page to Philip II; he was connected by blood to the Royal houses of Austria, Bourbon, and Lorraine. But, amid all the glamour of an exalted position, clad in courtly costume, on the high road to honours and good fortune, he never lost sight of his saintly mother kneeling before the altar praying for him. Scarcely turned sixteen he escaped from Madrid, knocked at the gates of the Roman College, and craved admission for Aloysius Gonzaga, the son of the Count of Castiglione. For seven years S. Aloysius set an example of sanctity in this house; then, in the words of Holy Scripture "his days were numbered".

When the Feast of S. Aloysius Gonzaga is celebrated the church of S. Ignatius, where his body rests in a lapislazuli urn surrounded by spiral verde antico columns, is resplendent with a thousand lights. The gates of the Roman College are opened, and the visitor may perceive a small chamber which public veneration has turned into a sanctuary. This is

S. Aloysius Gonzaga's room, and contains living memories of his life. (1)

Another holy youth, Stanislas Kostka, had come to Rome a few years before Aloysius de Gonzaga, and, like him, had died young. It was at the Jesuit noviciate, at S. Andrea-del-Quirinale, an establishment recently founded by Francesco Borgia, that Stanislas arrived from Poland, and there too his tomb still exists. The room he occupied has become, like that of S. Aloysius, a small chapel, and it contains a curious statue by Legros, representing the saint on his death bed. The head, feet, and hands are cut out of white marble, the robe out of black marble, and the mattress, on which he lies, out of yellow marble. The realism of this statue is scarcely suitable to its religious surroundings.

Thus far the pontificate of Gregory XIII has only been regarded in relation to the impetus he gave to learning, an impulse both active and generous, embracing as it did every branch of human knowledge. But this was far from exhausting all his energy. Few Pontiffs have done more than Gregory XIII for beautifying Rome. By his orders the splendid Gregorian Chapel at S. Peter's was constructed, to which, in 1580, he transported the body of S. Gregory of Nazianzen, which, having been brought to Rome in the eighth century, during the persecution of Leo the

(1) We believe it was in this room that S. Aloysius Gonzaga died. Nevertheless a fresco exists in S. Joseph's chapel, in the church of S. Ignatius, bearing the inscription:— "*Hic olim Beati Aloysii cubiculum fuit et sepulchrum.*"

Isaurian, had since then reposed in the church of the Greek nuns of the Conception, in the field of Mars.

To Gregory XIII the Vatican was indebted for its Torre dei Venti, and for its gallery of geographical charts, several of which were drawn by the celebrated Dominican Ignazio Danti, one of the most able mathematicians of the sixteenth century. The Palatine bridge, the most ancient in Rome, was almost entirely rebuilt for the Jubilee of 1575; it did not however last long, for the floods in 1598 carried away all but the few arches still standing and known as the Ponte-Rotto. At the same time a wide avenue was opened between S. John Lateran and S. Maria-Maggiore; the Piazza Navona was considerably enlarged, and Gregory XIII ordered the construction of the two fountains which adorn its ends. The Piazza Rotonda and the Piazza Colonna were also embellished with fountains, while the Gate of S. John Lateran was erected near the ancient Porta Asinaria.

In another of his great projects we see the indefatigable activity of this octogenarian Pontiff who seemed, like Paul IV and Gregory IX, to grow younger with his years. The great public granaries at Diocletian's Baths date from this reign. (1) The beggars' hospital, which gave the first idea of homes for the poor, was planned and carried out by him. Before the time of Pius V, mendicants swarmed in the Roman streets and churches, often disturbing the services by their begging. Pius V published a severe edict against this invasion of the holy places; but

(1) Now occupied by the hospital of the Madonna degli Angeli.



Gregory XIII carried severity and prevention still further. He opened an asylum for the wretched at S. Sisto on the Appian way, and henceforth begging was forbidden throughout the city. It was in 1581 that this idea was first put into execution. The brothers of the Trinità conducted eight thousand and fifty poor to the home that had been prepared for them, where they remained until 1587 when Sixtus V built the spacious hospital of the "Mendicanti a Sisto" for their benefit.

These were the works accomplished within the precincts of the city by Gregory XIII during the thirteen years of his pontificate; we have also to mention the building of the Quirinal Palace, on the site of the small house where Paul III was in the habit of retiring during the summer months, in order to enjoy the fresh air obtainable in that part of the town; to the same Pontiff is also due that reform of the calendar which was one of the most important scientific works of the sixteenth century.

The Julian year had been calculated on the supposition that the sun's course took 365 days, 6 hours, and that 19 solar years were equivalent to 235 lunar months. The errors of this calculation had thrown back the equinoxes ten days, and everyone felt the necessity of a more exact reckoning. Every ecclesiastical assembly had considered the matter, from the days of the Council of Constance to those of the Council of Trent; all men of science had produced their own system; Regiomontanus under Sixtus IV, Giovanni di Novara under Julius II, Paul of Middleburg under Leo X, and, finally, Luigi Lilio under

Gregory XIII. Luigi's scheme was presented to the Pope by his brother, Antonio, and Gregory at once proceeded to nominate a commission of learned men to examine it, nearly every rank of ecclesiastical hierarchy being represented upon it; Ignazio Danti and Ciaconius (Alfonso Chaco) were Dominicans, the celebrated Father Clavius, who wrote a folio volume upon the astronomical question, was a Jesuit, Sirlet a Cardinal, and Laureo, who had been a doctor, was then a Bishop. This commission adopted the proposed plan, and consequently the month of October of the year 1582 was reduced by 10 days, and a Papal Bull decreed that the last leap year of every century should be suppressed, except once in every four hundred years.

This reform is known as the Gregorian Calendar: it was recognised and adopted by all the Catholic nations; but the Protestants were vexed that the Pope claimed to arrange the calculation of seasons by the movement of the stars, and, for fear of appearing to submit to the decrees of Rome, they persisted in following the old arrangement. But finally this ill humour yielded to common sense, and the Russians alone allow the year to proceed in defiance of the sun; "preferring", as has been wittily said, "to be at variance with the heavens than in agreement with the Roman Church".

It is surprising how Gregory XIII not only found time for these numerous occupations but also the money needed to carry out his vast undertakings. The Papal revenue had greatly diminished since heresy had invaded the northern countries of Europe; never-

theless it was after that period that the Roman Pontiffs were observed to make the greatest monetary efforts to support the Catholic cause in every place. This apparent anomaly is explained by the rapid development of industry and agriculture made in the Roman States during peace. Until the sixteenth century these fertile lands had been almost constantly ravaged by war, and the historians of the time inform us that the Roman troops were then the best in Italy.

Indeed it is well known what was accomplished by the Roman troops under the command of Virginio Orsini, Fabrizio, Marc'Antonio, and, above all, the great Prospero Colonna. It was in the States of the Church that the famous Company of S. George was recruited, which, under the command of Alberigo di Barbiano, cleared Italy of those foreign freebooters who came to fatten on the plunder of her people. But peace and good government transformed these warlike habits into working activity, which was not long in bearing fruit. The Popes now scarcely kept any troops on a war footing; and, if the reputation of the pontifical army suffered in consequence, public wealth increased in a remarkable degree. Thus the ecclesiastical dominions, which had formerly been unable to subsist without the support of foreign grain, from the reign of Paul III actually began to export it in considerable quantities. A Bull of Pius V, in the year 1566, records this ever increasing state of prosperity. Romagna alone annually shipped to Venice 40,000 cubic metres of grain, while the exportation of wheat from the Roman Campagna and provinces

amounted, under Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, to the enormous value of 500,000 crowns (£ 108,000). It was not only in cultivating cereals that these fertile plains were successful; flax and hemp made the wealth of Perugia, Faenza and Viterbo; oil of Rimini; wine of Montefiascone and Cesena; woad of Bologna; while the horses of the Roman Campagna had become deservedly celebrated.

But, if the revenues had increased, taxes had also augmented in a greater degree. No European dynasty spent more money than did the Popes on public monuments and works of charity; and the great sums, received by the pontifical treasury from the various kingdoms subject to papal obedience, merely passed through Rome, to flow thence over the whole world for the foundation of colleges, charitable institutions, or for armaments against infidels. This collection of vast enterprises so absorbed the resources of the Roman Church that she had to fall back upon loans, at first by farming the taxes, which was carried out to a vast extent, and then by financial operations known as "Monti" (Banks) worked in the following manner. A new tax being imposed—say for instance on the sale of meat or flour—its proceeds were devoted to paying interest upon a sum which was borrowed at once. The lenders then formed a syndicate under the name of Monte and took part in the *administration* of the security assigned them for their loan. Thus the Monte Clementino was partly entrusted with the customs; the Monte Farinello with the collection of the tax on flour. Shares in the "Monti" had become public currency; some were for life and produced

high interest, others were perpetual. The "Monti", it will be seen, offered abundant resources for urgent needs; but any abuse of the system necessarily impaired public credit. Thus, when Gregory XIII assumed the reins of government, the debt was too considerable to have recourse to them, and Gregory was in the worst of straits how to find the money to carry out the projects he had planned. His counsellors then suggested some ideas which though apparently simple proved complicated in execution. The first was to increase the custom-duties at the various ports; it was held that this tax would only affect the foreigner, and would be very productive, considering the flourishing state of commerce, particularly at Ancona; but foreign merchants took their business in other directions, with the result that Ancona lost much of its old importance. The second measure adopted by Gregory XIII was to claim, as having lapsed to the Church, all fiefs on which quit-rent had ceased to be paid, or which had passed into any other than the direct line. Doubtless this measure was strictly in accordance with feudal custom; but so many interests were compromised that it raised serious trouble. Perhaps, too, it helped to swell the ranks of the "Bravi", who, since the peace, had lived on rapine, placing their arms at the service of any private vengeance.

The Bravi, thorough-going brigands, were not, however, under any moral stigma. People had become so accustomed to the excesses of war that no one was astonished at beholding soldiers and their officers continuing that trade on their own account; and, as

they only went on with what they had always done, it was not imputed to their discredit. The importance of these bands became more and more disquieting. During the reign of Gregory XIII, they were led by several men of the first families of Italy, such as Sciarra, Malatesta, and Piccolomini. Piccolomini was in the habit of surprising towns and having his personal enemies slaughtered, while those of his men who were not occupied with killing gave themselves up to dancing. His weakness in dealing with the Bravi has generally been a subject of reproach against Gregory XIII. Sometimes he would exclaim, "Thou wilt arise, O Lord, and take pity upon Sion," (*Exurgens misereberis Sion*).

Gregory XIII died on the 12<sup>th</sup> of April 1585, aged eighty three years. The Conclave which followed his death resulted in the elevation of a man sprung from the lowest ranks of society, whose genius, far more than his decrepitude, recommended him to the choice of the Sacred College. SIXTUS V presents one of those characteristic figures who leave a mark in history, and whose memory is handed down among nations, surrounded by a halo of wonderful or fantastic traditions, as being all that was marvellous. That remarkable Catholic insight was indeed extraordinary which discovered in the son of a vine-dresser, Peretto Peretti, the man who was born to heal the evils of his day, and which placed him, far above Kings and Emperors, upon the throne lately occupied by a Medici and a Farnese. Genius is always gifted with commanding power; and, when we endeavour to lessen its merit, we only prove its superiority.

Felice Peretti was born on the 18<sup>th</sup> of December 1521, at Grotta-a-Mare, near Montalto, in the March of Ancona. His father cultivated Ludovico Firmano's garden which was fragrant with citron and orange trees, among which lay the ruins of a temple to the Etruscan Juno. His mother performed humble household duties for Diana, Firmano's youthful daughter-in-law, while his sister used to accompany her aunt and wash linen for the good townfolk of Montalto. As to Felice he set off every morning, with a piece of bread, to tend his flock. If by chance he met any scholar who would lend him a book he eagerly devoured its contents, rather guessing than learning its mysterious language. Now, one day a Franciscan, whom the young shepherd had directed on his way, invited him to his monastery, and arranged for his education. This first step taken, Peretti soon made rapid progress. Joining the Franciscans at the age of twelve, he made himself conspicuous as much by his quick wit and application as by the impetuosity of his character. When oil failed in the lamp by which he pursued his midnight studies, he would come down to the monastery church, and there, alone with God, continue to read by the dim light of the sanctuary lamp. His talents as a theologian and orator soon gained him a great reputation in his Order. In 1552 he preached the Lenten course at Rome in the church of SS. Apostoli, and everyone was struck with his fervid eloquence and true deep feeling. According to a MS. in the Altieri Library, one day when preaching in SS. Apostoli a sealed note was handed to him: Brother Felice opened and

read it: beside a certain number of propositions, said to be taken from his sermons, was the word **MENTIRIS** written in large characters. The fiery orator could scarcely control his feelings; in a few words he brought his sermon to an end, hastened to the Palace of the Inquisition to present this mysterious note and to request that his doctrine might be scrupulously investigated. This examination proved favourable to him, and gained him the friendship of the Grand Inquisitor, Michele Ghislieri, who at once perceived what good use might be made of a man whose smallest actions were stamped with unshaken force of character.

Peretti successively became Vicar-General of the Franciscans, among whom he endeavoured to carry out a reform, Bishop of S. Agatha, and Cardinal. He belonged to the austere religious party, and felt within himself the will and power to do great things. His advent to the throne was therefore in some ways the signal for a change in the management of affairs. Sixtus V brought to the exercise of his authority the regular habits and strict economy of a religious, while he employed at the same time the munificence of a Prince upon monuments of public luxury or utility. The expenditure of his table was fixed at six pauls a day (about sixpence halfpenny), while several charges of the curia were suppressed. The Cardinals, having brought his sister Camilla from Grotta-a-Mare, introduced her to the Vatican clad in rich apparel; but Sixtus V refused to recognize her; next day, however, on Camilla presenting herself in peasant costume, the Pope kissed her tenderly, ex-



claiming:— “Now, indeed, you are my sister, and I do not wish anyone except myself to give you the title of Princess.” This good woman only asked one favour for a confraternity at Naples which had sought her protection, and she then retired to the villa her brother had built near S. Maria Maggiore. Soon afterwards Camilla's, two grand-daughters married the Duke Virginio Orsini and Marc' Antonio Colonna, sealing, by this double union, the reconciliation which had been effected between these two powerful families.

What distinguished Sixtus V from most of his predecessors was his force of character, even more than his varied knowledge. The aged Gregory XIII had great intelligence, and was endowed with rare energy whenever it depended upon giving a general decision or drawing up rules for public order; but all his resolution vanished in the presence of suppliants or of criminals. On the other hand Sixtus V, who was perhaps less exacting, became inflexible in obtaining what he decreed. Neither threats, tears, prayers, not even the sight of blood, could move him from a resolution once taken for the public good. We have seen to what extent the boldness of the Bravi had reached. Their organisation was so extended that nothing could be hoped for, either from the nobility or the people, in the struggle they were waging against public order. Fear of the dagger paralysed those who were not their accomplices, and disorder went on increasing; the police were powerless, even the streets of Rome were no longer safe for girls, and there was such an interweaving of interests in this vast anarchy that the disease

seemed incurable. It is necessary to bear in mind these facts, in order to appreciate the greatness of the work accomplished by Sixtus V, and to understand how, finding no support outside himself, he made an immovable rock of his will-power, upon which he securely based all his means of action.

His first step was to humour the nobility by allowing Gregory XIII claims to fall into abeyance, and to please the people on the borders of the States of the Church by resigning some contested privileges; then, finding himself free to act, he began a ruthless struggle against the Bravi, adulterers, astrologers, and all who did not submit from the very first to orders given by the pontifical police. Death was almost the only penalty inflicted, and it was pronounced not only on the culprits themselves but on all who harboured them, even though they were their fathers or mothers.

At the same time the nobles and communes were held responsible for all acts of pillage committed on their lands, and were compelled to make restitution in money. It was thus that within a year, and without putting a single soldier into the field, Sixtus V succeeded in stamping out brigandage. The bandit chiefs, no matter how high they stood, had their heads cut off and exposed upon the battlements of the Castle of S. Angelo.

The head of Guercino il Prete, who styled himself King of the Campagna, was for several days exhibited on the old Ælian Bridge adorned with a gilt crown. The Bravi imagined that everybody was a traitor, they even distrusted one another, and those who

were not executed murdered their comrades in the deep caverns in which they sought refuge.

If now we pass from these measures, stamped by his inflexible severity which was rendered necessary by the circumstances of the time, to the civil administration of the Roman States, we shall be astounded by the great results obtained by Sixtus V during the five years of his reign. It is true that he raised the price for farming the taxes, and increased their number, created new "Monti" upon the sale of wine, wood, and upon certain professions which might no longer be practised without a licence; he even went so far as to debase the coinage; but we can believe that the money he thus obtained was not unprofitable to the people, for never, since the middle ages, had the Roman population attained such a height of prosperity as during his pontificate. Under Paul III the inhabitants of Rome numbered only 45,000; under Sixtus V they reached over 100,000.

Only three years after his accession to the throne, Sixtus V deposited 4,500,000 crowns in the Castle of S. Angelo, consecrating them by a Bull to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Apostles SS. Peter and Paul. This enormous sum (nearly one million sterling) became a reserve fund which was only to be drawn on in case of pestilence, famine, an expedition against the Turks, to carry help in pressing need to some Christian province, or for a war undertaken either to defend or to recover the States of the Church.

Undoubtedly a deposit of this kind would be absurd according to the principles of modern economy. Whenever a state is burdened by debt it is better

to pay it off than to accumulate unproductive funds. Nevertheless the hoard in the Castle of S. Angelo produced an immediate effect by giving Europe a high opinion of the wealth of the Apostolic See; from it resulted more confidence in business transactions, and a greater activity of commerce for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Roman States. So important an impression was made in this respect that even now this famous treasure is quoted as one of Sixtus V best claims to glory.

Not a single administrative interest was neglected by this indefatigable old Pontiff during his long vigils devoted to assiduous labour. The result was seen in the activity of life within his dominions.

- Thousands of workmen dug out canals through the Maremma in order to restore it to cultivation; the spacious beggars' hospital at Ponte-Sisto (1) was built; master-fullers were installed by the Pontiff in a house near the Fontana di Trevi for starting manufacturies of cloth and dyeing wool. By order of the Pope, from Bologna to Terracina, mulberry trees were planted in the woods and vineyards; while fines were imposed on farmers who left part of their lands uncultivated. Finally, new congregations of Cardinals were added to the old ones, with the duty of superintending the various branches of public administration.

Sixtus V had confided the direction of his undertakings, when merely a Cardinal, to a young man from Como who was studying architecture at Rome, and

(1) It is now occupied by infirm priests.

whose talents were all the more appreciated because they were combined with great nobility of character. (1) This youth, whose name was Domenico Fontana, designed the Cardinal's charming Villa Montalto with its long cypress alleys and graceful palazzino. He also built the beautiful chapel del Presepio in S. Maria-Maggiore, a chapel which Tasso has immortalised; and when the Cardinal ascended the throne he became the soul of all his undertakings. Fontana's reputation then began to increase. The Pope had resolved to change the appearance of Rome in order to render it more healthy and convenient; wide streets were to unite the principal Basilicas, and the Strada Felice, one of those thoroughfares, remains to give us an idea what Rome would have become under Sixtus V plan.

During the sixteenth century Rome was transformed. The magnificent Strada Giulia opened by Julius II, near the bank of the Tiber, in the lowest and most densely populated quarter of the town; the Lungara, lined with palaces on the opposite shore; the Strada Pia, built by Pius IV and commanding the Quirinal; the Strada Felice, of Sixtus V, uniting the Esquiline and Pincian Hills, made the papal capital, with its palaces and public buildings, the finest city in the universe. Little by little, also, she regained the ground lost during the middle ages.

(1) Fontana continued, at his own expense, the construction of the chapel del Presepio, which had been ordered by Cardinal Peretti; when Gregory XIII stopped the pension the latter had enjoyed, he had the delicacy to hide from the Cardinal the sacrifices he was making.

The Field of Mars was being covered with houses, the ancient Flaminian way resumed her majestic course across the city, the hills alone, in spite of their salubrity, remained deserted. Sixtus V determined to transfer that excess of population which had arisen, through public prosperity, to these healthy regions, and, as it was the want of water which had chiefly led to their abandonment, he instructed Fontana to reconstruct some of those aqueducts which used formerly to convey streams over triumphal arches from a distance of twenty leagues into the heart of the city.

This order was scarcely given ere it was put into execution. Sixtus V possessed one of those iron wills which redoubles man's power. Ancient sources were re-discovered; 4,000 labourers worked over a distance of twenty-two miles, constructing new canals, and repairing the Claudian Aqueduct; soon the gigantic Moses of the Fontana dei Termini beheld torrents of pure water rushing from the rock at the touch of his rod. These torrents deluged not only the Quirinal but the Pincio, the Esquiline, and even the Capitol.

The Quirinal palace, begun by Gregory XIII, was continued on a much grander scale; and Sixtus made Fontana from the Baths of Constantine transport to the front of the palace gates those two steeds held by colossal athletes, great works of ancient art, which tradition attributed to Phidias and Praxiteles.

An immense pile was added to the Vatican Library; the Lateran palace was rebuilt; the lateral façade of the Basilica of the Saviour was enriched with

two tiers of graceful arches, and a special building was erected to receive some of the precious remains of the ancient and venerable patriarchal palace. Among these holy relics thus preserved was the Scala Santa, with its flight of 'twenty-eight steps of Tyrian marble, brought from Jerusalem by S. Helena, steps which Jesus Christ had ascended and descended during His Passion in Pilate's palace. Two of these steps still bore traces of His Blood. There was also the celebrated chapel, called Sancta Sanctorum, which had formerly been the chapel of the Popes; it contained several chests filled with the bones of martyrs, and on the altar stood that picture of the Saviour which was framed in silver by Innocent III and which, according to tradition, begun by S. Luke had been finished by angels. (1)

The five years of life, which God granted to Sixtus V upon the throne, sufficed to make Loreto a town. Valleys were filled up, houses built, and

(1) We have spoken during the eighth century of this picture called Acheropite. The Chapel of S. Lorenzo, or Sancta Sanctorum, in which it was, and is still, preserved, occupied the extreme north-east of the ancient patriarchal palace. It is now isolated, and Sixtus V surrounded it by a construction, the portico of which, pierced by arcades, was intended to receive the Scala-Santa. This staircase was formerly kept in the north wing of the palace. It was conveyed in procession and placed in position from the top downwards, in order that the workmen should not place their feet on one step while fixing the one above it. People may only ascend this staircase on their knees, and they descend again by adjoining stairs. The steps are covered with walnut wood planks, which have been renewed several times.

each community of the March desired to share in this pious enterprise. The church had remained without a façade; Sixtus V caused one to be constructed, and ere long the fine bronze gates by the sons of Girolamo Lombardo were placed in the centre; Sixtus V then surrounded the new city with strong walls to protect it from Turkish forays, and he instituted a military Order, under the title of Knights of Our Lady, whose duty it was to drive corsairs from the Adriatic, robbers from the woods of Romagna, and to keep watch over the holy house of the Virgin. Sixtus V only lived by the activity of his genius. Born in a cottage, brought up in a monastery, a man of austerity and grave deportment, he conceived projects as vast as those of Leo X, but in a different spirit. In the depths of his iron nature he felt none of those poetic vibrations which transported Leo X when he came across an antique statue, or monument of the Cæsars. The remains of ancient Rome had no value in the eyes of Sixtus V except such as belonged to their architecture, or perhaps their easy adaptation to modern uses. He utilized the ruins of the Septizonium in the construction of S. Peter's dome, and for a moment he thought of turning the Coliseum into a gigantic spinning mill. He generally considered objects only from the point of view of their public utility. Therefore he undertook those magnificent hydraulic works which caused the pure waters of the ancient Alexandrine spring to be conducted over the loftiest hills of Rome; he also opened those wide streets which made a direct communication between S. Maria-Maggiore and the Trinità-de'-Monti, and



between S. Maria-Maggiore and the Piazza Trajano; lastly, he decided on demolishing the Lateran palace, hallowed by the memory of so many virtuous Pontiffs, in order to make way for an immense building possessing neither memories nor style. (1)

Yet Sixtus V could look beyond his administrative occupations; he eagerly seized any idea fraught with power and grandeur, above all if it were likely to be successful. Thus he made every effort to hasten the completion of S. Peter's dome, because it would be a triumph of art under the auspices of Catholicism; for the same reason he restored columns, and re-erected obelisks, because, by surmounting them with the statues of saints or the symbol of our worship, he made these proud monuments of paganism serve for the triumph of the Cross.

The raising of obelisks, which, for eleven centuries, had lain buried or mutilated among rubbish, produced an indescribable feeling of curiosity and interest among

(1) The only ancient parts of the Lateran remaining are, in addition to the Sancta Sanctorum, the Baptistery of Constantine, the mutilated portico of S. Venantius, and the cloister constructed, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, behind the Basilica. Beneath the arches of this cloister various monuments have been gathered together which were formerly in the palace. Among others are the porphyry table upon which, it is said, lots were cast for the garments of Jesus Christ; a broken column from the Temple of Jerusalem (*et petræ scissæ sunt*); the well named "of the Samaritan woman," and a marble bar upheld by two pilasters which gives the Saviour's height. These monuments, consecrated by tradition, have not been considered sufficiently authentic to be exposed to the veneration of the faithful.

the Romans. Of all the great obelisks which formerly adorned the city of the Cæsars one alone remained standing, but its base had been buried beneath the accumulated dust of centuries; this was the red granite obelisk, without hieroglyphics, which Nuncoreus, a son of Sesostrius, had consecrated in front of the temple of the Sun, and which, brought from Egypt by order of Caligula, occupied the site of Nero's circus at the foot of the Vatican. (1) Sixtus V resolved to transport it to the centre of the Piazza S. Pietro, and plans for moving such a weighty mass were demanded from all the mathematicians and engineers of Europe. More than five hundred schemes were submitted to the Pope; two of these specially attracted his attention; that of Bartolomeo Ammanati, the architect of the Ruccellai Palace and the Roman College, who requested a year wherein to construct his machine, and that of Domenico Fontana, easy of execution, and of so very simple a character that its efficacy was doubted. In order to discount the objections which might arise, Fontana constructed a model with its rigging complete, by means of which he raised and set on end an obelisk made of lead; he then renewed the experiment on a larger scale, and the small obelisk near the mausoleum of Augustus answered, as though by magic to every movement he desired to give it. Fontana was therefore chosen; but, from some remaining fear which the Pope still entertained as to the success of this enterprise, he appointed Giacomo della Porta

(1) The Vatican obelisk is probably only an imitation of that of Nuncoreus. See Nibby.

and Ammanati as his assistants.' Fontana greatly resented this, and the nomination of the two architects was annulled; so workmen, pulleys, and capstans were gathered round the mighty monolith at Fontana's command alone.

Caligula's obelisk was 24 mètres high, and weighed nearly 500,000 kilogrammes. It had to be taken from its pedestal, laid upon rollers, conveyed to the centre of the Piazza, and replaced upon a new pedestal. Sixtus V placed great importance on the fact that all these operations should in no way mar the perfection of the monument; he desired that it should be raised before the Temple of the true God as spotless and beautiful as it was on the day of its inauguration before the Temple of the Sun. The keenest suspense filled all minds. Men consulted the works of Ammianus Marcellinus and Pliny for accounts of the labours that had been required to erect these enormous stones, and they were aghast on comparing those vast means of power with Fontana's nine hundred workmen. When Rameses erected the obelisk which bears his name and is 30 mètres high, before the palace of Mœris, he attached his son to the needle's point in order that the child's danger might give courage to the most timid, and guarantee the safety of the monument (*ut salus ejus apud mollientes prodesset et lapidi*) (1). Now in public opinion it was the life of Fontana that depended on success, for it was usual to exaggerate Sixtus V violent outbursts.

(1) Pliny, "Hist. natur."

The 30<sup>th</sup> of April 1586 was therefore a day of excitement. All Rome crowded the approaches to the Vatican, at the foot of which the obelisk, encased in beams and matting, still rested on the bronze lions which for more than fifteen hundred years had upheld its gigantic mass. The nine hundred workmen had all been to confession, heard Mass, and received Holy Communion. They had already entered the enclosure; but as yet not a capstan moved; dead silence reigned in the streets, on the piazza, and on the roof of S. Peter's, which was covered with spectators. Not a sound was heard save Fontana's voice giving his orders from a raised platform. Suddenly a trumpet sounded; the thirty-five capstans moved together, the ropes grew taut, and, at the first wrench the obelisk was torn from its base and remained hanging in mid air. The cannon from S. Angelo announced the great news to the fourteen quarters of the city, and, while bells set up a merry peal, the workmen bore Fontana in triumph amid a thousand shouts of Vivat!

The obelisk was then lowered and drawn to the spot it was to occupy; but its erection was put off till the 10<sup>th</sup> of September, after the summer heats. Sixtus V desired that it should be in position for the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and it was under the influence of this idea of rendering a great homage to the Cross, on the very spot where the first Christians had been crucified, that everyone prepared for this imposing solemnity. Before commencing the workmen fell upon their knees and prayed for Divine help. There were still some left

who doubted Fontana's power, and who murmured that, though skilful in getting the obelisk down, he would not have strength to replace it on its base; but this last operation ended as successfully as the first, amid general enthusiasm in which Sixtus V participated. (1)

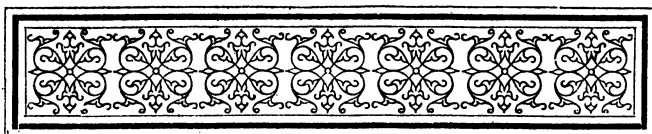
It must indeed have been a magnificent sight to behold this obelisk, after describing a quarter of a circle in the air, slowly descend on to its pedestal by the light of the setting sun, and amid the cheers of all Rome. Sixtus V congratulated himself on this success as on one of the most gigantic undertakings of modern times; medals were struck; Fontana was created a Roman noble, Knight of the Golden Spur, received a reward of 5,000 crowns in addition to all the material which had been used in the enterprise, the value of which reached 20,000 crowns (about £ 4,320) and, finally, poems in all languages upon this new triumph of the Cross were sent to the different sovereigns of Europe.

The Cross then appeared everywhere; on the summit of the obelisk of Thoutmosis before S. John Lateran, upon the obelisk of Rameses in the Piazza del Popolo, and, behind S. Maria-Maggiore, on the

(1) According to tradition, a peasant from the shores of Genoa, seeing the ropes about to snap, braved the order which commanded perfect silence, and cried out at the top of his voice: "Acqua alle funi," "Pour water on the ropes!" This cry probably saved the obelisk. The man who advised this was granted the privilege of supplying palms for Palm Sunday, a privilege still enjoyed in our own day by the Bresca family of San-Remo.

point of the granite needle which Claudius had consecrated to the memory of Augustus; and also, high above all the marvels of ancient art, it soared triumphant from the topmost point of the dome of S. Peter's, casting its sublime shadow on all the monuments of the vanquished.

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## CHAPTER XX.

*E parmi vano il trionfo.*

*Tasso.*

## SIXTEENTH CENTURY

(CONTINUED).



THE noble traditions of austerity and dignity which were now maintained upon the Apostolic See exercised a healthy influence on all ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and people. Mythology was renounced in favour of a return to Christianity; indolent habits gave way to pious severity, and the spirit of self-sacrifice, which voluptuousness and unlimited freethought had never fully succeeded in stifling among Roman society, now filled all hearts with great and holy desires. We come from studying Rome under a brilliant aspect; we have seen her expanding her limits, filling herself with inhabitants and wonders; it now remains for us to study her under a no less sublime aspect, namely, that of the action of Catholicism upon the various classes of her people, and we shall find that here, too, the arts joined their influence to the promptings of Christian

piety. On the Quirinal stands the beautiful church of S. Bernard, in the Baths of Diocletian; a magnificent gift of the Countess di Santa Fiore to Jean de la Barrière, the founder of the Feuillans: near to it rose, under the direction of the youthful Carlo Maderna, the Travertine façade of S. Suzanna, which church had just been restored at great expense by Cardinal Rusticucci, assisted by Camilla Peretti, the Pope's sister. At the foot of the Capitol appeared the majestic church of the Gesù, a splendid tribute of respect from the Farnese to the Institute of S. Ignatius. The Altèmpi consecrated a chapel in their palace to Pope S. Anicetus, whose body was translated there from the Catacombs. The Orsini, those generous and indefatigable founders, built the churches and monasteries of S. Maria-della-Purificazione-a-Monti, S. Maria-Maddalena on the Quirinal, and, within the precincts of their palace, they dedicated a sanctuary to SS. Simon and Jude. At the same time the ancient church of S. Lorenzo-in-fonte, that hallowed prison of S. Laurence and holy dwelling of S. Hippolytus, rose from its ruins through the generosity of the Cardinal of Toledo.

Religious feeling expresses itself in various ways; at times, by monuments, at others, by ennobling the humblest callings and most ordinary duties. It mingles with every action of life duty towards God and charity towards men. While Gregory XIII and Sixtus V were endeavouring to render the city more healthy by building wide streets, a poor schoolmaster, Giovanni Leonardo Ceruso by name, joined in this great enterprise to the best of his ability, and with that earnest



desire to do good which is occasionally as powerful as genius. Every morning he started forth, barefooted and bareheaded, his rosary hanging round his neck, with the object of setting children to work at sweeping the streets in return for a small remuneration which tradespeople were glad to give them; afterwards he took them to his room near the Chigi Palace, where he gave them religious and secular instruction. The portrait of this schoolmaster, whom some call "the Learned", because Latin phrases were always in his mouth, and others "The Silent Preacher", because of the eloquence of his deeds, was placed by Cardinal Federico Borromeo in the gallery of illustrious men in the Ambrosian Library. (1)

In the Trastevere Quarter a Milanese gentleman, Marco Sadi-Cusani, devoted himself to the education of poor children, teaching them their catechism, reading, writing, and the rudiments of grammar, assisted by some devout men who formed the Institute of Christian Doctrine; and, at S. Prassede, a blind French priest, Father César de Bus, devoted himself to the instruction of the poor. (2) Wherever there

(1) See the curious book by Cardinal Morichini on the charitable Institutions of Rome. It has been translated into French by M. de Bazelaire.

(2) Father de Bus came to Rome under Clement VIII and remained some years. The Institute of Christian Doctrine which he founded was united to that begun by Marco Sadi-Cusani in 1747. The "Fathers of the Doctrine" have now five schools at Rome, three at S. Maria-in-Monticelli and two at S. Agatha-trans-Tiberim.

was illness the Frati di Buona Morte with S. Camillus of Lellis at their head hastened to its relief. (1)

One may judge of the influence of such lives and deeds on society from the bent minds now took towards divine science rather than to antiquarian research, and by the poetry which drew its inspiration from religion and faith, no longer being satisfied with the foolish trifling which had immortalized Ariosto.

As to the arts, they had greatly fallen from the high standard attained at the beginning of the sixteenth century; not a breath of Raphael's inspiration now animated the studios; art was sleeping to be awakened once more by the eclectic school of Bologna, whose brilliant efforts were to restore to her all her technical perfection.

Sixtus V died on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August 1590 in the turmoil of political complications, of which the Bravi took advantage to reappear under several of their old leaders, Piccolomini, Sacripante, and Battistella. The Pontiff's severity had filled his subjects with so much fear that he was little regretted. Muratori says of him, "His name is still used in order to

(1) Camillus of Lellis was born at Bacchanico in the Abruzzi; he began life as a soldier with a propensity for gambling; but, having to quit the service in consequence of an ulcer in the leg, he was converted and became a nurse in the hospital of S. Giacomo at Rome. Subsequently he was ordained and appointed Vicar of the parish of S. Maria-di-Miracoli, near the Tiber. It was there he instituted his pious congregation. He lived until 1614, and was buried in the church of S. Maria-Maddalena, near the Pantheon, which church had become the headquarters of his Order.

frighten children." (1) The monuments erected in his honour were broken in pieces, and it was decided at the Capitol that henceforth no statues should be raised to Popes during their lifetime.

Giovanni-Battista Castagna, who succeeded Sixtus V under the name of URBAN VII, reigned only twelve days; and, like him, GREGORY XIV and INNOCENT IX occupied the pontifical throne for but a brief space. Gregory XIV (Nicolò Sfondrato) resembled a Christian of the early ages. His soul, a stranger to earthly passions, had never lost its virginal purity. He always recited his Breviary on his knees, kept many fasts, and, when the Cardinals came to acquaint him that the votes were in his favour, they found him kneeling before a crucifix in his cell. (2)

(1) Dicono che anche oggidì si fa paura ai fanciulli, col suo nome.

(2) Gregory XIV was the son of the celebrated lawyer Francesco Sfondrato, who, after filling civic posts of importance and hearing himself acclaimed "Father of his country" at Siena, of which town he was governor for a long time, embraced the ecclesiastical profession, and became Bishop of Cremona. Nicolò Sfondrato, his son (afterwards Gregory XIV), succeeded him in that see in 1560, and Paolo-Emilio Sfondrato, his grandson, during the early years of the seventeenth century, carried on both at Cremona, of which town he too was Bishop, and at Rome the family traditions of virtue, learning, and charity. "He lives in the Borromean style," wrote Cardinal Delfini. Rome was indebted to him for discovering the remains of S. Cæcilia and S. Agnes, as well as for the restoration of their Basilicas. When he died in 1618, a clause in his will stipulated that only twelve candles should burn around his coffin; but, by way of contrast, 2,000 gold crowns were to be distributed to the poor.

During Gregory's short pontificate Rome suffered severely from famine and the plague. Some historians reckon that 60,000 inhabitants were carried off by the scourge during the two years 1590 and 1591. Public misfortune gave fresh courage to the banditti. During the Conclave and the few days of Innocent IX reign nothing was spoken of but burning villages, and it was even possible to witness the devastation of the country from the Roman hills. But when power was vested in the hands of Ippolito Aldobrandini, a young man who had been raised to the purple by Sixtus V, the brigands again dispersed.

Ippolito Aldobrandini, who took the name of CLEMENT VIII, was the fifth son of the distinguished lawyer Silvestro Aldobrandini, who, after lecturing at Pisa, and enjoying great authority at Florence, was exiled when his enemies the Medici returned to power. Silvestro's life was henceforth hard and unlucky. Deprived of his property, reduced to feel, as Dante had done, how bitter is the bread of others, how hard it is to go up and down a stranger's staircase (1), he at least knew how to ennoble his misfortunes by the dignity of his character. His family united rare virtues and talents, which in him had been carefully developed by an excellent education. Being called to Rome by Paul III, who appointed him Consistorial advocate, Silvestro went there accompanied by his wife Leta Deti, who for thirty-

(1) Tu proverai sì come sa di sale  
Lo pane altrui . . . . .

Paradiso, c. XVII.

seven years was his guardian angel, and five sons; Giovanni, who became a Cardinal; Bernardo, a soldier; Tomaso, who subsequently translated Diogenes Laertius; Pietro, a lawyer, and Ippolito, still a child, whose lively wit made his old father anxious as to his education. Ippolito was, however, educated at Cardinal Farnese's expense, and every kind of appointment and dignity came to him unsought. He never tired of work, and his conversation was most agreeable. His dignity, modesty, and solemn but witty sayings fascinated all who were admitted to his receptions, which were held at midday, after he had dispatched the principal affairs of State. If occasionally irritable, he was more frequently remarkable for circumspection and prudence, and these qualities, even when apparently dormant, were steadily tending towards his ends, which they rarely failed to reach.

The most important event of his reign was undoubtedly the reconciliation of Henry IV with the Church. Clement had great doubts as to the sincerity of the French Prince; "I will only believe it," he remarked, "when an angel comes down from heaven to whisper it to me." But, as time went on, a reconciliation became daily more desirable, and Clement determined to give Henry the absolution he requested.

This ceremony took place on the 17<sup>th</sup> of September 1595. D'Ossat and Duperron, attired as simple priests, presented themselves at the entrance to S. Peter's, where the Pope was seated on his throne surrounded by all the high dignitaries of the Church. A Cardinal read the conditions imposed upon the Prince; these were among others:— the re-establishment

of Catholicism in Béarn; the acceptance in France of the Council of Trent; the obligation of endeavouring to bring about the conversion of the Prince of Condé, and the faithful observance of all the clauses of Leo X Concordat. The ambassadors accepted them on oath, after which kneeling down they abjured all doctrines contrary to the Catholic Faith; and, at the same moment when the Pope touched them with his wand, the chant of the Miserere, in token of penitence, resounded through the vaulted Basilica. The Pope then rose and pronounced the words of reconciliation, while the wails of public sorrow were succeeded by the glorious outburst of the *Te Deum*. (1)

The Spaniards had opposed this absolution to the utmost of their power, and d'Ossat informs us that they never approved although they could not prevent it. However they tried to postpone it: they certainly counted on its taking place without pomp, and above all that no salute should be fired from the Castle of S. Angelo. "But the salvoes this morning were deafening", writes d'Ossat, "and other signs of rejoicing will take place to-night that will weary the sight." (2)

(1) Two monuments exist at Rome which recall Henry IV; one of these is his statue by Cordier, which may be seen in the north portico of S. John Lateran; it is a token of gratitude from the Chapter for an Abbey the King had given to them. It is well known that the Most Christian Kings bore the title of First Canon of the Lateran. The second is the granite column, surmounted by figures of Jesus Christ and the Virgin, in front of S. Antonio Abate. It was erected by Clement VIII to perpetuate the memory of the absolution given to this Prince.

(2) Letter to M. de Villeroy.

Public joy surpassed belief. Quoting the same authority, "Do not imagine that any town of the kingdom has rejoiced more than Rome." Every street and square rang with acclamations, while house doors were decorated with the armorial bearings of France. There was not one down to the very poorest, who scarcely had bread to eat, that did not wear a portrait of the King, of which great quantities had been printed beforehand to be in readiness for the morning." (1)

Te Deums were sung in the French churches of S. Louis and the Trinità de' Monti to which Cardinal de Joyeuse conducted the King's envoys in a gilded coach, on which the words of the Psalmist "confundantur qui me persequuntur" were inscribed.

D'Ossat and Duperron were shortly afterwards invested with the Roman purple, taking their places in that College which was at the same time favoured by the presence of Baronius, Silvio Antoniano, and Bellarmine.

Robert Bellarmine, nephew to Pope Marcellus II, was a Jesuit, whose brotherhood had in the space of fifty years gained over entire provinces to the Church, while their colleges, rising face to face with Protestant Universities, had become the most celebrated in Europe. By preaching and constant practice in polemical discussion, Bellarmine had acquired a knowledge and insight which enabled him to overcome controversial difficulties. Even Protestants were charmed by his ready talent, by the logical sequence of his teaching,

(1) Letter from d'Ossat, October 1595.

and the unfailing clear precision of his language. One of them observed that all those who entered the lists after Bellarmine borrowed his weapons, as later poets made use of Homer. (1)

Cardinal Bellarmine bore the title of S. Maria-in-via which church is indebted to him for its choir and its stucco decorations. (2)

Baronius had begun by catechising young children with the "Fathers of Christian Doctrine"; afterwards he joined the Congregation of the Oratory under S. Philip Neri, by whose advice he undertook to write his "Ecclesiastical Annals" in order to refute the calumnies of the Centuriators of Magdeburg. He was a learned hard working man, and equally humble and pious. Successively promoted to the dignities of Vatican Librarian and Cardinal, he devoted himself alternately to the examination of archives and the foundation of religious establishments. Clement VIII thought so highly of him that he selected him for his Confessor, and every evening, after a fatiguing day, the Pope came to him for advice and consolation. An intimate friendship existed between these two men who understood one another so well. Clement daily entertained twelve pilgrims at his table, at which he himself set an example of frugality. When he had leisure he took long walks to keep off the

(1) Ricardo Monlucato, quoted by Tiraboschi, "Storia della lett. ital." t. VIII, p. 347. Bellarmine lived to the age of seventy-nine, dying in 1621 at the Jesuit Noviciate, on the Quirinal. His body has since been transferred to S. Ignazio.

(2) The title of S. Maria-in-via was lately held by Cardinal Donnet, Archbishop of Bordeaux.



obesity with which he was threatened, or discussed theological questions at the Vatican with learned priests like Baronius and the companions of S. Philip Neri. (1)

S. Philip Neri was continually absorbed in ecstatic visions, living apparently more in heaven than on earth. After founding the Archconfraternity of the Holy Trinity, Philip entered Holy Orders and resided for thirty-five years at S. Girolamo-della-Carità. The room still exists in which Philip held conferences on Catholic dogma: young men crowded to these discussions, among whom were Baronius, Bordini, subsequently archbishop; Salviati, the Cardinal's brother; and Turugi, Pope Julius III nephew, all anxious to preach the Faith and be under the direction of the holy priest. S. Philip drew up their rule, and they lived in community in a house in Strada Giulia, close to S. Giovanni-dei-Fiorentini. Gregory XIII subsequently gave them the church of S. Maria-in-Vallicella, founded by S. Gregory, and which was now magnificently rebuilt. In the house adjoining this church the saint passed his latter days; the chapel is still pointed out in which he privately said his Mass, attended by only one priest in order that none might witness his protracted devotions and ecstasies. Divine love possessed him to such a degree that his transports had occasioned an unusual development of the heart. This great saint died on the 26<sup>th</sup> of

(1) Baronius died at Vallicella, at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and was buried in the Chiesa Nuova whither S. Philip Neri had preceded him.

May 1595, fortified by the rites of the Church and comforted by the prayers which Baronius, his beloved disciple, offered up at his bedside.

The Chiesa Nuova, which became the headquarters of S. Philip Neri's disciples, was one of the most important buildings of the period. The further we advance the more difficult does it become to enumerate the many fine monuments at Rome. Let us, however, mention the splendid palace of the Trinità de' Monti, Annibale Lippi's masterpiece, whose interior façade is attributed to Michael Angelo; the palace of the Governor of Rome, built by Paolo Maruscelli by command of Catherine di Medici; the Palazzo Sciarra, by Flaminio Ponzio; the Palazzo Giustiniani, by Giovanni Fontana; the Palazzo Spada, by Giulio Mazzani, and the fountain "delle Tartarughe", built by order of the magistrates and Romans from designs by Giacomo della Porta and the Florentine sculptor Taddeo Landini. (1)

The grandeur of Rome may be imagined in remembering that the greater part of the monuments which now excite admiration existed three hundred years ago.

Having spoken of these new buildings we must mention the magnificent restorations ever in progress. S. Girolamo-dei-Sciavoni rose from its ruins under the

(1) We may further mention S. Maria-della-Grazie, near the Porta Angelica, S. Apollinaris, S. Maria-della-Purità, S. Giovanni Evangelista, S. Tomaso d'Aquino, SS. Faustino-e-Giovita, S. Maria-del-Pianto, and S. Bonaventura-dei-Luccese, with the neighbouring convent where lived and died S. Felice di Cantalice.

direction of Martino Lunghi; S. Cæcilia was, thanks to the generosity of Cardinal Paolo-Emilio Sfondrato, enriched with costly marbles, lapis-lazuli, onyx, paintings and ornaments in silver and bronze gilt; the small church of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, which had been so injured by time that any resemblance to a temple had been lost, was restored by Cardinal Baronius. In repairing S. Cæcilia, Sfondrato has sacrificed some of the surviving traces of the first century, particularly the amboes from which the Epistle and Gospel were read; but Baronius endeavoured to retain the antique character of the church whose title he bore, and recommended his successors to respect antiquity. The inscription to this effect placed by him in the apse may still be read, it runs:—

Quisquis es, futurus Cardinalis successor,  
Obsecro te, per gloriam Dei et merita  
Sanctorum martyrum, nil minuto,  
Nil demito, nil mutato, antiquitatem  
Piè restitutam servato, et sic te  
Deus adjuvet per orationes sanctorum.

The great mosaic representing SS. Nereus and Achilleus is celebrated, it dates from the pontificate of Leo III and the troubled days of Nestorianism (796), and it is a fine artistic record of Christ's divinity and of the sacred maternity. A pontifical pulpit in the apse is worthy of notice, according to tradition it was used by S. Gregory. Baronius inscribed, on its marble sides, the beginning of a homily delivered by that great and holy Pontiff, either from this pulpit or in the neighbouring Catacomb, on the festival day of the two martyrs.

But the Confession was empty! for the relics of the two saints, and those of S. Flavia Domitilla, one of their converts, had been transferred, under Gregory IX, to the deaconry of S. Adriano on the Forum. Baronius obtained permission to restore most of their relics to the crypt in which they had first been buried, and this was done with great pomp. Special enthusiasm accompanied the remains of S. Flavia, a niece of the Emperors Titus and Domitian, and a victim to pagan hatred. Her relics were conveyed to the Capitol, beneath the triumphal arches erected to the honour of her family. Upon these arches the following inscriptions were seen:— "*The Senate and People of Rome to S. Flavia Domitilla, for having contributed more to the glory of Rome by her death than her illustrious relatives had done by their deeds . . . To S. Flavia Domitilla and SS. Nereus and Achilleus, excellent citizens, for having purchased with their blood peace for the Christian Commonwealth.*"

Instead of tablets recording the extension of the Republic (*ob rempublicam auctam, propagatam*), it was now the propagation of the Gospel that was engraven on monumental stone. Each public building and private house had its own device. The procession majestically wended its way across the Forum, by the Via Sacra, to the foot of the Cœlian and Aventine hills. It consisted of magistrates, children bearing torches, priests and monks, after whom came the funeral car surmounted by a red canopy. Baronius recalling the internecine struggles with which Italy was torn, especially that war between Parma

and Modena, besought the martyrs to obtain peace from God. A few days later peace was suddenly declared.

The relics of SS. Papias and Mauro were also transferred from S. Adriano to the church of the Oratorians, who gladly bore their coffins on their shoulders. The relics of S. Flavia on the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 1597, and on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 1599 those of S. Cæcilia, received the same honour. We must not forget that S. Paschal removed the bodies of this Saint and her three companions Valerian, Tiburtius, and Maximus from their place of burial on the Appian way to the Basilica, formerly the residence of S. Cæcilia. But Cardinal Sfondrato having resolved on restoring the Basilica and beautifying the Confession it became necessary to disturb the coffins of the martyrs. The discovery of S. Cæcilia's body was quite an event in Rome and Sfondrato hastened to bear the news to Clement VIII who was spending the autumn at Frascati, tormented by gout. "The Pontiff lamented," says Baronius, "that the state of his health did not allow him to set forth at once to visit and salute so great a martyr; but this disappointment was conducive to my advantage, for, in spite of my unworthiness, the Pontiff commissioned me to identify and venerate the saint's body."

S. Cæcilia's body remained just as it was left at the moment of death, "lying, not on her back, like a dead body in its tomb, but on the right side, like a maiden in bed, the knees modestly drawn together, the whole attitude being that of a person who slept." Her veils, stained with blood, still lay at her feet,

and, despite the injuries of time, the robe embroidered with flax and gold, described by S. Paschal, could still be distinguished.

For more than a month the Roman population flocked to S. Cæcilia's church; Clement VIII likewise went, as soon as his health permitted; but he absolutely refused to remove the veils which covered the body, on which, although dried by time, the blood traces of martyrdom were still visible.

Clement placed Cæcilia's body in a silver shrine weighing 251 pounds, after which it was solemnly removed. A statue, Stefano Maderna's masterpiece, representing the Saint as she lay in her tomb, was placed in an oblong niche in front of the altar so as to be seen from the whole nave. It bears the following inscription:— "This is the image of the very holy virgin S. Cæcilia; I, Paul of the title of S. Cæcilia, have seen her so lying in her sepulchre, and I have wished that this marble should reproduce the exact attitude of her body." Few works of art have been more beautifully executed.

Perhaps never, since the great explorations of the Catacombs made during the seventh and eighth centuries, had greater veneration been shown to the relics of saints, while the Catacombs themselves, which had been altogether forgotten, were once more opened. Baronius in his "Annals" (ad annum 130), describes them:— "It is most interesting to relate that we have often seen and wandered through the cemetery of Priscilla, recently discovered and cleared out, on the Salarian way, at the third stone outside the city. I cannot better describe it than as an

underground city, so vast is it, with countless and various streets. At its entrance a main thoroughfare opens out, wider than all the others, into which, from either side, a multitude of others diverge, which are again subdivided into lanes forming different suburbs. In certain parts as in towns there is a kind of Forum, intended as meeting places for divine service, ornamented with pictures of the saints. Openings in the roof, now closed, admitted light. Rome was struck with surprise (*obstupuit urbs*) on hearing that there were buried cities at her gates, colonies of Christians during the days of persecution, now only peopled by the dead. She now beheld what S. Jerome and Prudentius had described, and it filled her with wonder and admiration."

Henceforth the Catacombs became places of compulsory pilgrimage. S. Philip Neri spent years in that portion of the cemetery of S. Sebastian which was accessible in his day. S. Charles Borromeo and S. Brigit went thither for meditation, while S. Francis of Sales visited them when at Rome in 1591 and 1599. The Abbé de Chissé relates that, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of March 1599, he came across him in the Catacombs, kneeling, weeping, sighing, motionless, and so absorbed as to be unconscious of what was taking place around him. Both he and his travelling companion, President Favre, were in the habit of spending five or six hours in prayer before the relics of the saints.

S. Francis of Sales resided near S. Salvatore-in-Lauro, in the centre of Rome. In recording his life his biographer relates that, being more eager for

edification than to satisfy his curiosity, he used to go to the Coliseum to contemplate the battlefield on which Christianity unarmed vanquished the world; to the Basilica of S. Peter to revive his faith and devotion; to S. Paul's to enkindle his charity near that great heart which had called forth the veneration of S. John Chrysostom; to S. Maria-Maggiore to pour forth his love before the crib of Bethlehem; to S. Croce-in-Gerusalemme to do homage to the sacred relics of the Passion. This does not mean that he neglected to visit those other wonders which the capital of the Christian world offers to travellers; he visited all the ancient monuments of Roman magnificence, all the gorgeous remains of human pride, by which the masters of the world sought to immortalize themselves; but he visited them as a Christian, filled with those high thoughts which spring from faith. S. Francis often exclaimed, "O, the folly of man's vanity! how is he benefitted by triumphal arches, trophies, statues, or tombs? Of what use are now those magnificent Baths to Antoninus and Diocletian? How vain are the works of man when they do not relate to God! These unhappy men engraved their names on stone; how greatly they must be pitied for having known no better way of gaining immortality!" (1)

Italy's great poet Torquato Tasso came to Rome in 1554. He was born at Naples to which city his father had been exiled for joining in the Prince of Salerno's revolt.

(1) "Vie de Saint François de Sales", by M. Hamon, vicar of S. Sulpice, t. I, p. 77.



After studying at Rome for several years he went to Bergamo, then to France, returning to Rome in 1572. He was welcomed to the Palazzo Monte-Giordano, the residence of the aged Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, a meeting place for distinguished men. There was a saying about it that "it is more the court of a King than that of a Prince."

Cardinal Ippolito d'Este had just built a beautiful Villa at Tivoli now deserted, and its ruins mingle with those of the villas of Mæcenas and Horace.

Three years afterwards Tasso was again at Rome for the Jubilee of 1575; while his last visit to the city was during the days of his adversity in 1587, when he stopped at Loreto to fulfil a vow made to the Virgin, and at Assisi to visit the shrine of S. Francis. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of November from the heights of Baccano the whole Roman Campagna lay before him. In his ecstasy he exclaimed: "It is through God's grace that I have been permitted to accomplish my great desire of beholding this holy city once more."

At Rome Tasso dwelt either at the Olivetan monastery of S. Maria-Nuova, on the Via Sacra, the Abbot of which was Father Oddi, one of the most enthusiastic admirers of the "Gerusalemme", or in the palace of Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga, "his other half, with whom he used to take refuge like a traveller in stormy weather, waiting for the sky to clear".

Now in 1589, the Cardinal being absent, his steward, wearied by the poet's restlessness and irritability, turned him out of doors; fortunately for

him some of his friends remained faithful, particularly Father Oddi who took him back to the monastery against his will. But Tasso always considered himself the victim of humiliation; and, fearing that the "candidissimi padri", as he calls them, would also weary of him and his misfortunes, he fled from S. Maria and took refuge in a hospital founded by his cousin Giacomo Tasso.

This hospital is still standing near the custom house, and is dedicated to SS. Bartholomew and Alexander, and the name of its founder, Jacobus Taxus, is inscribed on a stone before the altar.

Rome, where Tasso had spent so many evil days, was nevertheless to witness his last triumph. Torquato had been for some time at Naples, a city he dearly loved, when a letter from Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini informed him that, by a decree of the Senate and with the approval of the Pope, the laurel crown was to be conferred on him at the Capitol. Tasso had vainly suggested this coveted honour to Sixtus V, yet now the Cardinal's letter found him absolutely indifferent, and he would even have declined the invitation had it not been for the entreaties of his friends.

Tasso therefore set out for Rome by way of Monte Cassino, and spent three days in prayer at the tombs of SS. Benedict and Scholastica; then, remounting his horse, he pursued his way through the green valleys and woods of Ceprano and Valmontone, climbed the ascent to Frosinone, the subject of many fine works by Poussin, and proceeded by Ferentino's shady groves, until the Sabine mountains appeared

in the hazy distance, and Michael Angelo's lofty dome glittered resplendent on the horizon.

As the poet approached the city a great gathering of men, horses, and carriages awaited him; these proved to be Cardinals Cinzio and Pietro Aldobrandini, accompanied by their relatives and some of the papal household, who had come to meet him. They gave him an enthusiastic welcome, and conducted him, in triumph, to the palace. Next day he was received in audience by Clement VIII, who said to him, "We have awarded you the laurel crown in order that you may honour it as much as it has hitherto honoured others." A hundred crowns were settled upon him out of the papal purse, and other rewards were promised him for his works.

The month of November had come, bringing with it rain and cold, so the ceremony was postponed till April. Tasso being ill, weak and continually occupied with thoughts of death, was indifferent about the delay and only entreated Cardinal Cinzio to order his removal to the monastery of S. Onofrio, where he might breathe fresh air on the Janiculum. On the threshold he was met by the Prior and religious, to whom he said, "Fathers, I have come to die among you." His deathbed was attended by Cardinal Cinzio, S. Philip Neri, Cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine, and also by Palestrina's son and collaborator. Having arranged his worldly affairs he turned his thoughts to death, and fourteen days later he expired, on the 25<sup>th</sup> April, consoled by a plenary indulgence granted to him by the Pope.

S. Onofrio occupies the summit of that part of the Janiculum which extends from the church of S. Spirito to the Porta San-Pancrazio. Though small in size and humble in appearance, it commands a view over the whole of Rome, and has S. Peter's at its feet. Domenichino's frescoes, a Virgin by Leonardo da Vinci, a painting by Annibale Caracci, attract the crowd less than a narrow stone lying to the left of the church in a damp dark corner.

Upon this stone are carved the following words:—

D. O. M.  
TORQUATI TASSI

OSSA

hic jacent . . .

hoc ne nescius

esses hospes

Fres hujus Eccl.

P. P.

M. D. C. I.

Obiit anno M.D.XCV.

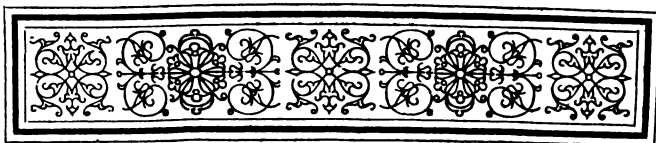
Tasso's memory still lives at S. Onofrio. In the library, on a lofty pedestal, stands a plaster cast taken of his face after death.

Behind S. Onofrio stretches a vast garden belonging to the monastery; at the highest point terraces are cut out in a semicircle, whence a fine panoramic view is obtained over Rome, from the Forum to the Porta del Popolo. An enormous oak of ancient date till lately overspread these terraces and went by the name of Tasso's oak, as it was a current saying that he often sat beneath its shade, where noises from the city, oaths from toppers, litanies sung before the shrines of Our Lady, rumbling waggons, and jangling bells

did not disturb him. It may be that he began his conversation in heaven on that very spot, facing the Capitol where he was to have received his laurel crown, and that it was there that he exclaimed:—

Ma la vergogna e l'infelice esiglio  
E l'odiosa povertate e quella  
Che tanto ci spaventa, orrida morte,  
Veri mali non sono.





## CHAPTER XXI.

Les édifices de Rome portent presque tous une empreinte historique; on y peut remarquer, pour ainsi dire, la physionomie des âges.

*M<sup>de</sup>. de Staël.*

## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

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**S**CARCELY was Tasso dead than Alfonso d'Este, his persecutor, also died, childless, and without having been able to obtain from Rome a new investiture of the Duchy of Ferrara for his cousin Cæsar d'Este. All the strongholds of the Duchy were occupied by pontifical troops, and the Castle of Ferrara, so long celebrated for its splendour, but which had not always been of benefit to the people, disappeared for ever.

This increase to the states of the Church became a new element of power, which, in the hands of Clement VIII, could only be beneficial. Accordingly the courageous Pontiff endeavoured to unite all the powers of Christendom in another Crusade against the Turks. He himself set the example by collecting

1,500,000 crowns for this purpose and by sending an army of 12,000 men to the Danube.

The embellishment of the Christian capital was one of his favourite schemes. The ancient church of S. Cæsario-in-Palatio and that of SS. Rufina-e-Secunda were restored. He opened a college for Scotchmen near S. Andrea, and one for Slaves on the Piazza Nicosia; the Monte di Pietà was lodged in a vast palace; the building of the pontifical palace of Monte-Cavallo was pushed on; the Clementine Hall of the Vatican became a marvel of splendour, with its decorations of marble, gilded stucco, and paintings, among which were some fine landscapes by two Flemish artists, the brothers Matthew and Paul Brill. At S. Peter's, Clement VIII consecrated the high altar, and completed the dome, begun by Michael Angelo, after designs by Giacomo della Porta (1); he also constructed a chapel whose graceful dome was decorated within with arabesques and foliage in mosaic. But it was the Lateran Basilica that chiefly benefitted from the Pope's bounty. The transept was entirely renovated; the Church was enriched with bas-reliefs, frescoes representing the life of Constantine, a magnificent organ by Giovanni Montani, a gilded soffit, and, lastly, with the superb altar of the Blessed Sacrament, Olivieri's masterpiece, the tabernacle being adorned with precious stones, and the Last Supper

(1) Giacomo della Porta gave greater elevation to the cupola than Michael Angelo had intended, and he surrounded it with an intricate Ionic colonnade; the interior mosaics were also introduced by the same artist.

worked in silver; its fluted columns were from the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and were cast, according to tradition, from the bronze of Egyptian vessels captured at Actium.

Clement VIII expired on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1604. An anecdote is told which manifests his extremely sensitive disposition. When Beatrice Cenci and her relatives were condemned to death, Clement withdrew from Rome; but, when three cannon shot announced that man's justice was about to be satisfied, he raised his hand to bestow his apostolic blessing upon the culprits in the hour of death, after which he fell back unconscious. His successor LEO XI reigned only twenty-six days, sinking from the fatigue he underwent at the ceremonies of his enthronement. He was followed in the Apostolic Chair by Camillo Borghese, who assumed the title of PAUL V. Borghese was only fifty-three years of age; although born in Rome his family came from Siena, whence they had emigrated to escape the domination of the Medici: his youth had been spent in studying law, and in the performance of his judicial functions. He was very little known, for, avoiding politics, he had devoted himself exclusively to his own pursuits, and was rarely seen absent either from his tribunal or his books. No other prelate, however, had purer morals or a higher sense of duty, or was possessed of a more upright judgment. Thus it happened that, unlooked for by him, the votes of the Conclave were all in his favour. He then took a high view of his position, deferred his coronation for six months, in order that he might bestow, only after mature con-



sideration, all the customary favours generally granted by Pontiffs on this occasion; so he commanded the Cardinals and Bishops to quit Rome and return to their dioceses. It was palpable to everybody that he was a man possessed of a firm sense of duty, and that he was both strong minded and clever. His influence was experienced at a distance; wherever the laws, or ecclesiastical immunities sanctioned by the canons and long custom, were disregarded, the voice of Paul V was heard demanding redress. His vigilance and prompt action were always conspicuous. The tribunals and various functions of the curia were remodelled, their authority limited, their fees fixed, and severe repression put an end to abuses. Paul exacted that there should be professors of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic in every monastery, and he authorized the foundation of religious orders especially devoted to the education of youth, among others the Ursulines and the Scuole Pie.

The Ursulines were established at Rome, at the back of the church of SS. Rufina-e-Secunda, by two Frenchwomen, Françoise de Montjoux and Françoise de Gourcy. (1) The Scuole Pie started at S. Dorotea-trans-Tiberim, where a good priest from Aragon, Joseph Calasanctius, had devoted his life to educating

(1) Françoise de Montjoux had, at the age of fifteen, left Paris alone in order to visit Rome and Jerusalem; but the delicacy of her health had prevented her going beyond Rome. Françoise de Gourcy came from Flanders to Rome for the Jubilee of 1600, and humbly took up her abode with a band of pilgrims at the hospice of S. Trinità. See Hélyot.

poor children. Within a few years, he managed to collect 1,000 scholars (1), among whom were some of Jewish parentage, and he severely reprimanded the mob for their ill-treatment of these unfortunate children.

An Institute for orphans had, as already stated, been founded by S. Ignatius in the early part of the sixteenth century; the illustrious and generous Cardinal Salviati opened a college, bearing his name, for orphans who gave promise of literary capacity. These scholars were dressed in white, and they were in the habit of going out on festivals to serve Masses, and also attended funerals, in order to supplement the scanty revenues of the college. Cardinal Salviati enlarged the church and Hospital of S. Giacomo, and endowed them with funds to support the sick. He moreover left part of his heritage to the Hospital of S. Rocco, making it available both for men and women, especially for women in labour. S. Rocco is now exclusively a lying-in-hospital to which patients are admitted without references, secrecy is preserved, and neither secular nor ecclesiastical jurisdiction can interfere with them.

Paul V stood "head and shoulders", as the chroniclers of S. Louis phrase it, above all the pre-

(1) Joseph Calasanctius was canonized by Clement XIII. The congregation he founded was called, "The Poor of the Mother of God of the Holy Schools". From S. Dorotea the Scuole Pie migrated to S. Pantaleone; they also occupied the church of S. Lorenzo-in-Borgo, one of the spots, according to tradition, where the holy deacon used to distribute alms to the poor. These schools are now free and admit 400 children.

lates at his court, and like Sixtus V, Paul III, and Leo X, he had that taste for great deeds which seems to be inherent in the papacy. All over Rome the Borghese name may be seen on the façades of monuments; and if, with Muratori, one is constrained to find fault with Paul V for his liberality towards his nephews, Cardinal Scipione and the Duca di Sulmone, it is only fair to add that most members of that family rivalled the Pope in munificence and generosity. Each year Paul V distributed 1,000,000 crowns to poor pilgrims, and 1,500,000 to other needy classes. He founded the bank of S. Spirito, whose enormous property served as security for the deposits lodged with it. In the buildings he undertook Paul V displayed regal magnificence. The aqueduct of that ancient spring Sabatina was restored for a distance of twenty-five miles, and three torrents darted from the arcades of a graceful portico on the summit of Janiculum to give hydraulic power to the many factories that sprang up in the Trastevere quarter. Another stream from the same Sabatina was brought by the Sistine Bridge across the Tiber and fell in noisy cascades in front of the Strada Giulia.

The Quirinal Palace, which had occupied the attention of three Popes, was completed after Carlo Maderna's plans. From this period date the portico of the courtyard, the double flight of stairs, the chapel with its great anteroom, adorned by Landini's bas-reliefs, Lanfranchi's painted frieze, and the richly sculptured soffit. By orders of Paul V, Maderna transported from the Constantine Basilica to the

Piazza S. Maria-Maggiore that lofty fluted column of white marble which may now be seen surmounted by a statue of the Virgin. S. Maria-Maggiore was greatly embellished, a new sacristy was built, and a fine chapel, designed by Flaminio Ponzio, was opened in the nave, as though to correspond with the Sistine chapel. (1)

The Sistine Chapel had been constructed by Sixtus V to receive the Saviour's crib; that of Paul V was destined for the reception of the miraculous picture of the Virgin.

The works at S. Peter's daily occupied the attention of Paul V, and it was during his reign that Michael Angelo's original plan was modified. (2) In giving to the structure the form of a Greek cross, that great architect had not included within the building all the space formerly occupied by the sanctuary raised by S. Sylvester. Paul V, considering it meet to embrace within the holy fane all the soil

(1) While devoting vast sums to the embellishment of S. Maria-Maggiore, Paul V presented a silver shrine to the church of S. Agnese-fuori-le-mura to receive the relics of S. Agnes and S. Emerentiana lately discovered by the indefatigable Cardinal Sfondrato.

(2) It may be of interest to give the following measurements of S. Peter's:—

Exterior length of the church . . .	219	mètres
Interior length . . . . .	188,50	"
Length of transept . . . . .	154,60	"
Interior width of the nave . . . . .	27,83	"
Height from pavement to top of cross	136	"
Height of the vault . . . . .	48	"

Including the Piazza colonnade, which alone cost more than £ 180,000, over £ 10,000,000 were spent on S. Peter's, exclusive of the Sacristy which was erected by Pius VI.

consecrated by the burial of so many martyrs and saintly pontiffs, caused the nave to be prolonged by three arches, until it assumed the form of a Latin cross, just as Bramante had first designed it.

This task was entrusted to Maderna, Fontana's nephew, who had succeeded to the great favour his uncle had enjoyed during the reign of Sixtus V at the pontifical court. Unfortunately Maderna lacked creative genius. Cleverness he possessed, as is proved by his designs for the Aldobrandini, Olgiati, and, above all, the Mattei Palaces; but for a building like S. Peter's, which stands apart from all others both in size and style, skill was less important than bold originality. The church was enlarged without undergoing any alteration so far as its interior style of architecture was concerned; but this magnificent building needed a worthy front, and in this Maderna failed. Michael Angelo's design for the façade, which somewhat resembled that of the Pantheon, had been abandoned, because no gallery had been thought of from which the Pope could give his blessing to the city and the world, "*urbi et orbi*". The need for this gallery or terrace in the Roman Basilicas often caused architectural difficulties.

Paul V demanded of nine celebrated artists plans for S. Peter's portal, and the worst of these, Maderna's, was selected. M. Quatremère remarks, "No one likes to see the want of taste displayed in this façade which presents large window openings, and even an attic, as though it were intended for a residential palace." (1)

(1) See the article "Maderne" in "*Vies des Architectes célèbres*".

S. Peter's façade greatly diminishes the effect that should be produced by this vast monument, and, were it not for Bernini's magnificent colonnade, the visitor would approach it without experiencing any of those feelings which are called forth on beholding what is sublime. This ill-effect is fortunately obliterated to a great extent by the aspect of the colonnade, the obelisk, the gushing fountains, and the interior of the temple.

It was also Paul V who placed on the spot it occupies to-day the venerated statue of the Prince of the Apostles; this statue cast, according to tradition, from the bronze that once formed the figure of Jupiter Capitolinus undoubtedly dates back to the early days of Christianity. (1)

Most of the great painters of the Bolognese School established themselves at Rome during the pontificate of Paul V. Already, under Clement VIII, Agostino and Annibale Caracci appeared there, and had made their mark in the gallery of the Palazzo Farnese; but, under Paul V, they came in crowds, Domenichino, Lanfranchi, Guercino, Guido, Albano, all of whom were celebrated men. With this school likewise reappeared the voluptuous memories of mythology; the Palazzo Farnese could boast of the "Triumph of Bacchus", "Galatea"; "Andromeda", and the "Abduction of Cephalus by Aurora". Guido's "Aurora", on the ceiling of the Palazzo Rospigliosi, was already the object of an admiration which was

(1) This statue is in one casting, which disproves the opinion that it is an antique statue with a modern head.

soon to be rivalled by Guercino's "Aurora" and "Fame", in the small Palazzo Ludovisi, built by Gregory XV nephew. At the Palazzo Verospi (1) might be seen the "Hours", painted by Albano's poetic imagination; at the Palazzo Borghese "Diana the huntress", one of the most admired works of Domenichino. Then these same painters, leaving fable, turned to illustrating the mysteries of faith, and it must be owned that they interpreted the Gospels in a noble manner. (2)

One of Domenichino's first productions was a "Liberation of S. Peter", still to be seen in S. Pietro-in-Vincoli. Later on he rivalled Lanfranchi in decorating the pendentives of the cupola of S. Andrea-della-Valle, and Guido in the paintings of S. Gregorio.

This competition between Domenichino and Guido has become renowned in history; for some time it appeared that Guido would gain the victory, but in the end Annibale Caracci awarded the palm to Domenichino.

It will suffice to mention the "Communion of S. Jerome", "S. Petronilla", and the "Martyrdom of S. Sebastian", to convince the reader that, even in the seventeenth century, art owed her finest masterpieces to religious inspiration. The artists of that day were welcomed at the pontifical court, as their predecessors had been by the Medici and Farnese. Lanfranchi was made a Roman Knight, and lived a happy

(1) Now the Palazzo Torlonia.

(2) See M. Veuillot's praise of these painters in "Rome et Lorette", chapter 54.

and honoured life until the age of sixty-six. Paul V loved to watch Guido at work, and provided him with a carriage and a pension. Probably it was this high patronage which made the artist haughty and proud. Speaking of a certain Cardinal he said, "I would not barter my brush for his hat." He never returned any visits paid to him; when he set to work a numerous crowd of admirers and disciples surrounded him; one ground his colours, another prepared his palette, while all stood silently watching their master, who in his velvet doublet, with richly chased sword, looked more of a noble than a painter. Guercino also held a large and assiduous court, at which everyone felt at home, for there was not one of his pupils who had not experienced the warmth and kindness of his heart. Domenichino avoided the world, for his talents had always excited the undying hatred of his brother artists. Night and day he worked alone in his retreat, with that distrust in his own talents which survived his greatest triumphs. When surprise was expressed at the time he bestowed upon his works, he answered, "I have a master whom it is difficult to please, I mean myself."

As for the Caracci, they were so singularly devoted to one another that jealousy was often the result. When Agostino returned from the courts of Cardinals and Princes, handsome, richly dressed, and giving himself fine airs, the surly Annibale would point to his portraits of their parents, threading a needle and holding a pair of scissors, to remind him that they had been tailors. Agostino, on the contrary, blamed Annibale for keeping low company, and for his utter



lack of refinement in his daily habits. One day Cardinal Borghese having called at Annibale's studio the uncouth artist slipped out by a secret door.

Cardinal Borghese had all the taste and regal magnificence displayed by the Princes of the Church during the preceding century. It is said that the façade of S. Maria-della-Vittoria, on the Quirinal, was built at his expense, in return for an antique statue which had been presented to him by the monks of a neighbouring monastery. The church of S. Maria-della-Vittoria owes its name to a statue of the Virgin which is associated with some of the greatest victories obtained over the enemies of the faith. (1) This statue was brought by Father Domenico di Gesù-Maria from Germany in 1621, and enshrined upon the altar among jasper pilasters, gilded stucco, and precious stones. From the vaulted roof were hung standards taken from the infidels.

Cardinal Borghese extended his generosity to many holy places: he adorned with porticoes, stuccoes, and richly sculptured soffits the ancient churches of S. Chrysogono and S. Sebastiano-alle-Catacombe, and commissioned Soria to construct before the residence of S. Gregory the Great that noble façade which still faces the gaping ruins of the palace of Augustus.

At the same time the palaces and country seats of the Borghese family were of European repute. The famous Borghese Cembalo erected in the centre of Rome by two of the most celebrated artists of the seventeenth century, Martino Lunghi and Flaminio

(1) Notably the victory of Prague, 1620.

Ponzio, was as vast and splendid as a King's palace. Another Borghese palace, now Palazzo Rospigliosi, arose, by order of the Cardinal, on the site of the Baths of Constantine, with Guido's "Aurora" painted on its ceiling. Behind the Pincian Hill spread the beautiful Villa Borghese, the most sumptuous of all Italian villas. When the autumn heats scorched the plains of Rome, Cardinal Borghese withdrew to Frascati, where all the fashion of Rome used to follow him in turn. Paul V often went there himself to rest from the fatigues of his position. Sometimes he would stay at the Villa just built by his nephew; at other times at the Villa Mondragone, a former property of the Altempi, where Gregory XIII had often sought repose, and which Cardinal Borghese had enlarged and embellished with that grandeur and taste which were habitual to him.

We will now glance at the religious movement in Rome as it developed outside the immediate influence of the Pope and the members of his family. The first monument that arrests attention is S. Andrea-della-Valle, the fine church of the Theatines, with its galaxy of jasper, agate, and lapis-lazuli, and enriched with noble statuary and grand paintings. Three architects successively worked at it; Olivieri built the nave, Maderna the choir, the apse and the dome; and Carlo Rainaldi the façade. (1)

(1) It is to the Duchess of Amalfi, Constance Piccolomini, and to Cardinals Gesualdo, Montalte, and Peretti that the Theatines are indebted for this fine church.

Not far from S. Andrea stands S. Carlo-a-Catinari, a church generously given to the Barnabites by Cardinal Leni. The cord which S. Charles Borromeo wore round his neck, in the procession which he organized to beseech for Divine Mercy during the plague at Milan, is still preserved there.

At the foot of the Capitol stretches the vast monastery built for the Jesuits by Girolamo Rainaldi, by order of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese; a fine library was opened at S. Agostino, formed by Angelo Rocca, which was soon to be increased by the precious collection of Luke Holstenius; on the Quirinal slope might be seen the churches and monasteries of l'Umiltà and S. Maria-della-Virgine; near the Fontana di Trevi rose the Collegio Mattei, founded for fifteen poor students of noble birth; they wore a black cassock trimmed with red. In the Strada Felice stood the home of the Fathers of Mercy; their church, just rebuilt, had been dedicated to the Holy Trinity and to S. Francesca Romana; opposite to it the barefooted Augustinians of Spain have erected the church of S. Ildefonso. Turning to the lower part of the town we come across the Carmelite church and monastery dedicated to S. Joseph, within whose walls had just been laid the remains of Francesco Soto, an Oratorian, who, before taking orders, had belonged to the choir of the pontifical chapel for thirty years, and had devoted his wealth to founding this monastery; S. Andrea-delle-Fratte, built at the expense of Ottavio del Buffalo; and the Conservatorio della Penitenza, devoted, by Padre Domenico di Gesù-Maria, to the reception of fallen women.

The reign of GREGORY XV, which lasted only two years, gave a new and unexpected impulse to intellectual pursuits. Gregory, whose family name was Alessandro de' Ludovisi, had already attained his seventieth year; in stature he was short, of gentle manners, deeply versed in law, and, in spite of his retiring nature, he had acquired the reputation of a learned man. It was feared that the new Pope, weighed down by years and infirmities, might not find sufficient strength to bear the burden of state. But his nephew, Lodovico de' Ludovisi, came to his assistance, and, although only twenty-five, displayed such firmness and capability that his uncle's reign became glorious. Lodovico had been educated by the Jesuits, from whom he had imbibed a solid piety which attracted him towards the strictest defenders of the Catholic cause. Moreover, his manners were easy and courteous, and his good breeding contributed greatly to his successful exercise of power. Always willing to listen, it appeared as though he had everything to learn; yet nothing really escaped his observation. While apparently devoted to literary pursuits at the academical gatherings at the Vatican, where the venerable Gregory XV recovered the lively wit and classical lore of his youth, Lodovico was holding in check the armies of France, Spain, and Austria in the Valteline, obtaining the concession of several contested towns by means of a few battalions who had left Rome under the standard of S. Peter; building the palace and designing the walks of the lovely Villa Ludovisi; following the progress of missionaries to the ends of the earth, and suggesting to the aged Pontiff the idea of a college at Rome as a centre

of universal learning, whence Catholic proselytism should radiate to every point of the compass.

What the College of Propaganda has done for religion and science is well known. There is not another city in the whole world which possesses such an institution: only six years after its foundation the Propaganda press possessed types in fifteen different languages; it soon could boast of twenty-three, and this number has been continually increasing. It allowed no corner of the globe to exist to which Catholic dogma did not penetrate, not alone by preaching, but by the numberless books that were issued to each nation in its own language; there was not a land however distant whence representatives did not come to Propaganda, to acquire the knowledge of all truth and every science, in order that they might transmit them to their own countrymen.

Propaganda had set itself the task of regaining not alone those countries which had been lost to the Faith, during the Protestant upheaval, but also of acquiring new conquests in distant lands. Thus Father Nobili was engaged in converting the Brahmins; Father Jerome Xavier, nephew to the Apostle of the Indies, solemnly celebrated Christmas at Lahore; Father Ricci, thanks to his mathematical talents, was welcomed in China, where he gained the sovereign's favour by the gift of a striking clock, and the love of the people by his boundless charity; he even succeeded ere long in organising a Confraternity of the Virgin, in the very midst of the idols of Peking. On all sides numerous colleges sprang into existence, in Japan, India, Abyssinia, and America from Hudson's

Bay to Cape Horn. But Europe itself witnessed, if possible, even a greater wonder, for in this Continent, where controversy had apparently died out from exhaustion, Catholicism once more took the field and gained several glorious victories. At the voice of Bishop Pazmanny the whole of Hungary abjured Protestantism; Moravia and Bohemia returned to the household of the Faith; even Holland, which had stoutly resisted the brutal propaganda of the Duke of Alva, was compelled to yield up some of her provinces through the eloquence of the Jesuits.

When these good tidings reached Gregory XV, the venerable Pontiff's soul rejoiced, and he exclaimed, "Now at last may the daughter of Sion shake the ashes of mourning from her head and put on festal attire." (1)

Gregory placed in the calendar of the Saints the names of several of those who had been most active in bringing about this revival of faith, notably those of S. Ignatius, S. Francis Xavier, and S. Philip Neri, to whom he added that of a poor workman named Isidore. Rome was not slow in raising sanctuaries to the new Saints. The most magnificent of these was the one erected by Cardinal Ludovisi in honour of S. Ignatius, the nave of which was designed by Domenichino and the façade by Algardi. (2) At the

(1) Letter to Maximilian, quoted by Ranke, IV, 135.

(2) Domenichino designed two plans for the church of S. Ignatius. Father Grassi, a Jesuit, made a third, which was indeed reducing Domenichino's two plans into one. This third was the design carried out.

same time S. Ignatius's tomb in the Gesù became an object of pious veneration, and one of his disciples, Father Pozzi, whose works may be seen in several Roman churches, towards the end of the century built a beautiful chapel over his tomb which is enriched in a marvellous manner. The Trinity is represented on the pediment; the Eternal Father holds a globe of lapis-lazuli of priceless value; the relics of the saint rest beneath the altar in a bronze gilt urn, studded with precious stones; his silver statue stands behind the tabernacle, while Religion is represented in sculpture, on one side hurling down heresy, and, on the other, receiving the homage of savage races.

Gregory XV died on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July 1623, universally regretted by the Romans who never forgot either the prudence or justice of his administration.

The choice made of Cardinal Barberini to succeed him caused general surprise. Maffeo Barberini, who took the name of URBAN VIII, was in fact one of the youngest Princes of the Church, a man of character, with a career before him, and free from all political entanglements. The late Popes had all been lawyers, but he was particularly devoted to literary pursuits; his deep acquaintance with the Greek tongue had obtained for him the name of the Attic Bee; he was equally conversant with Hebrew, and wrote odes and hymns in the language of Horace. Like Leo X, Urban at times sought amusement in reading modern poets, at others he occupied himself by revising and improving the hymns of the Roman Breviary. He invited and welcomed to Rome the most distinguished scholars, such as the Maronite Abraham Ecchellensis,

who translated the Conic Sections of Apollonius from the Arabic; Luke Holstenius, the indefatigable and probably most judicious annotator of the seventeenth century, and Leone Allacci, a Greek from Chio, who was a great student. Urban VIII commissioned Allacci to go to Heidelberg to receive the magnificent Palatine Library, which Duke Maximilian of Bavaria had bequeathed to the Church, and for which the Pope added a new apartment to the Vatican.

As a politician Urban VIII was too self-reliant, and his obstinacy was of a character which could only be beneficial when subservient to genius. One of his principal wishes was to revive the importance of the papal army which the Popes, since the sixteenth century, had allowed to deteriorate. With this idea he fortified Castel-Franco, surrounded the bastions and curtains of the Castle of S. Angelo with a pentagon wall, and erected within that fortress new magazines, a cannon foundry, and casemates. He at the same time surrounded the gardens of the Quirinal Palace with a strong rampart; an arms-manufacture was started at Tivoli, and over the Vatican Library an arsenal was formed capable of equipping 40,000 men.

These costly preparations remained unused for a long time; even the lapsing of the Duchy of Urbino to the Church, after the death of the last Duke, failed to bring about a war, though both Florence and Venice bitterly resented this increase of the Roman States. Peace was, however, at length disturbed by troubles of a different kind. Several Princes took umbrage at a papal decree which reserved the title of "Most Eminent" for Cardinals, for the three Ecclesiastical



Electors, and for the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta; they were still more indignant at the lofty pretensions of Taddeo Barberini, Urban's nephew, who had been created Duke of Palestrina, and who claimed, as Prefect of Rome, to take precedence of the ambassadors of crowned heads. Odoardo Farnese, Duke of Parma, met the claims of the Barberini by even more insolent ones on his own account; each party was offended, and a league was soon formed throughout the whole north of Italy against pontifical authority.

At first the Barberini were successful, even taking the Duchy of Castro from the Farnese; but the Dukes of Modena and Florence, with the Republic of Venice, joining hands against the Pope, he was compelled, in order to obtain peace, to surrender Castro. This humiliation greatly dejected him, and, at the moment of signing the articles, Urban fell into a fainting fit, and experienced the first symptoms of that illness of which he subsequently died.

Urban VIII was not greatly regretted, perhaps because of the heavy calls he made on the treasury, or it might be on account of the overbearing pride of his nephews. None the less it would be a mistake to judge his reign merely by the dislike aroused by the power of the Barberini. He favoured commerce, and threw open Civita - Vecchia as a free port. Moreover, the Barberini were not so essentially selfish as upstarts often are. If the papal families had the tastes of Princes, they also possessed their magnificence and generosity; hence it was that splendid palaces, rich churches, and pious foundations multiplied

beyond calculation in the heart of Rome. Urban was a great patron of the arts; by his orders the churches of S. Urbino-alla-Caffarella, S. Sebastiano-in-Pallara, S. Salvatore-in-Campo, SS. Cosimo-e-Damiano, and S. Bibiana, were either rebuilt or restored. He also completely reconstructed the ancient sanctuary of S. Caio, near the Baths of Diocletian, where the dwellings of that holy Pontiff and of S. Martina had stood. A special charm attaches itself to S. Martina, because the rich underground chapel, in which the saint's body lies, was not only designed but built at the expense of an artist, Pietro di Cortona, who bequeathed one hundred thousand crowns for the purpose.

Pietro Berrettini, born at Cortona in 1609, was one of the most renowned architects and painters of a period when art had lost much of its power. His character was remarkable for sweetness, his life for purity, and his soul for nobility. (1)

It is curious that the same qualities were found in a painter who was still very young in the days of Urban VIII, but who from that time laid the foundations of a reputation which was henceforth to increase. Carlo Maratti was born at Camerino in Umbria; as a child he used to extract juice from plants and sketch figures upon the walls of his father's house; when he was sent to Rome, in 1636,

(1) The finest works of Pietro di Cortona as an architect are the doorways of S. Maria-in-via-Lata and of S. Maria-della Pace; as a painter, the ceiling of the Chiesa nuova, that of the Barberini Palace, the martyrdom of S. Martina, and the "Procession of S. Charles" at S. Carlo-a-Catinari.

to Andrea Sacchi's school, his progress was marked and rapid. While the master was painting in grand style S. Romuald and his Disciples, the child was producing on his canvas that Nativity which may still be seen at S. Giuseppe. Carlo Maratti had the greatest respect for the famous artists who had preceded him; he painted Raphael's portrait outside the house in which that painter had lived, and executed his bust and that of Annibale Caracci for the Rotunda.

Andrea Sacchi was of a different stamp: haughty, vain, sarcastic, and critical he was both hated and feared; since the great masters of the Bolognese school had disappeared, Andrea Sacchi's school was the best in Rome, and his works were held in the highest estimation, particularly by Poussin.

Such were the men who conducted the destinies of art during the sixteenth century (1); but above them all came another name, greater and more illustrious, the name of Cavaliere Bernini. Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini was born at Naples in 1598, and from his childhood gave evidence of so powerful a genius that Italy thought she had acquired another Michael Angelo. (2)

(1) A few other names should be mentioned; for instance that of the Cavaliere d'Arpino (Giuseppino); of Martino Lunghi, the architect of the Borghese and Altempi Palaces; of Onorius and the younger Martino Lunghi, who built S. Carlo-al-Corso, and of Pomarancio, the painter of "Ananias and Saphira" and the martyrdom of the saints at S. Stefano.

(2) Bernini was only thirteen when Paul V said of him, "I believe he will become the Michael Angelo of his age."

At the age of ten he sculptured a head remarkable for firmness of touch; at fifteen he produced his "Æneas and Anchises", at eighteen his "Apollo and Daphne", both at the villa Borghese. Unfortunately the influence of the day had also affected Bernini, and we find even in his most famous works, such as "S. Teresa e il Divino Amore" at S. Maria-della-Vittoria, a certain affectation or mannerism which takes away from the greatness and spirituality of his work. Nevertheless we feel bound to mention among the numerous sculptures left by Bernini at Rome his "S. Sebastiano", his "Blessed Luisa Albertoni", his "S. Benedetto dello Sacro Speco", and, above all, his "S. Bibiana", wherein he has amply demonstrated the power, wealth, and resources of his genius.

Bernini rose to the highest favour under Urban VIII, who once said to him:—"Doubtless you are happy to see Maffeo Barberini Pope; but Maffeo thinks himself still happier that Bernini has lived during his reign." Once, when walking with Annibale Caracci in S. Peter's, Annibale paused at the entrance to the nave, and remarked, "Believe me, there may come a greater genius who will raise two monuments, proportioned to the grandeur of this splendid temple, beneath the dome at the end of the church." "Would to God I might be the man!" exclaimed young Bernini. His desire was to be granted.

Urban VIII wished that a baldacchino should overhang the Confession of the Apostle according to ancient custom, and the difficulty of getting the metal necessary for so vast an undertaking was met by stripping the

portico of the Pantheon of its bronze plates. (1) Bernini set to work, and the metal was melted in gigantic moulds. The baldacchino was uncovered on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June 1633, and never had any bronze monument so vast and majestic been seen before. It rose exactly beneath the dome at a height of forty-two mètres, thus towering above the tops of palaces and the cross which surmounted the highest obelisks. Four composite columns, adorned with laurel leaves and cherubs, upheld it in the air; their twisted forms recalling the antique columns which had surrounded the altar of the first Basilica, and which were now removed by Urban VIII to the recesses in the pillars of the dome. The entablature and summit of the baldacchino were not less grand; beautiful figures of angels stood upon the columns from which issued four arrises which, uniting at a height of thirteen mètres, supported a globe surmounted by the cross. This grand composition called forth intense admiration. (2)

(1) The erection of two campanili on the Pantheon by order of Urban VIII was, in some opinions, a more reprehensible act because it destroyed the character of the building. The bronze removed was not visible, being beneath the portico, and possessed no other merit but its antiquity. Still the wits at Rome remarked, "*Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecerunt Barberini.*"

(2) Bonnani relates that, Urban VIII having invited his counsellors to tell him what recompense should be awarded to Bernini, one of them suggested a gold chain, whereupon the Pontiff remarked, "Gold, undoubtedly, Bernini deserves; but the chain by rights should be reserved for him who dares to give such advice."

Urban VIII next made Bernini construct a belfry, one hundred and twelve and a half mètres high, above the façade of S. Peter's. This belfry was divided into three orders of columns, and was surmounted by the pontifical arms, and by statues of the four doctors of the Latin Church. Either from artistic jealousy, or because the stability of the Basilica was doubtful, this beautiful belfry was pulled down during the pontificate of Innocent X.

Like many of the great artists of the sixteenth century, Bernini, by incessant labour, was enabled to undertake many works at one time. Thus, while he was constructing the baldacchino over S. Peter's Confession, he was hurrying on the building of Propaganda, superintending the erection of the beautiful church of S. Andrea of the Jesuits, completing the façade of S. Bibiana, and putting the last touches to the Barberini Palace begun by Maderna. Maderna hoped that this palace should be one of his best titles to renown, and even when in a dying state he insisted on being borne to the scaffolding in order that he might direct the works up to the last. Bernini continued the building, and constructed the winding staircase on an elliptical plan. Few Princes in Europe possessed a more sumptuous residence: within it Cardinal Francesco Barberini formed a library composed of 80,000 volumes and a great number of manuscripts; throughout the palace and in the gardens, which extended over the site of Flora's circus, might be seen the "Sitting Seneca", "Venus waited upon by Love", the "Recumbent Bacchus", the "Ephesian Diana", "Isis", heads of

Satyrs, Caravaggio's "Angel and Jacob", "The sleeping Faun", Da Vinci's "Herodias", Caracci's "Narcissus", "Gladiator", and "The Dead Christ", Bacchanals and Venuses by Titian and Madonnas by Baccioccio and Carlo Maratti. The ceiling of the immense vestibule, within which may still be seen the throne of the Barberini, surmounted by their heraldic Bees, had been painted by Pietro di Cortona. It was divided into five compartments, the paintings within representing Religion and Faith, Hercules overcoming the Hydra, the Church and Prudence, the Forge of Vulcan, and, in the centre, the Barberini coat of arms borne heavenward by the Virtues who are accompanied by Providence, Time, the Fates and Eternity.

The generosity of the Barberini was extended to many of the churches of Rome; they rebuilt the church of S. Giacomo-in-Settignano, the monasteries of S. Bartolomeo and La Minerva; to them S. Agata-in-Suburra is indebted for its splendid embellishments, S. Lorenzo-in-Damaso for the precious marbles and gilt stucco of its high altar, while not only was the church and monastery of the S. Incarnazione founded by them, but it was by nuns of their family, Sisters Innocenza and Maria Grazia Barberini, that the rule of S. Teresa was introduced in it.

The aged Cardinal of S. Onofrio, Urban VIII brother, specially devoted himself to charitable institutions: he bequeathed 600 crowns as an annual income to the Conservatorio-di-S.-Croce-della-Penitenza; he maintained young daughters of good family among the orphans of S. Caterina-de'-Funari; he gave a sum of money to Propaganda for the purpose of educating

twenty-five youths from Asia or Africa; and, while his nephews were building stately palaces, he, good and austere monk that he was, erected a monastery and church for the religious of his order. The Capuchin monastery, at Capo le Case, owes its origin to him, and there he was buried with this simple inscription on his tomb:— “Hic jacet pulvis, hic cinis, hic nihil.”

Among the foundations which belong to Urban VIII reign must be mentioned the Nardini College, directed by the Scuole Pie, and the Fuccioli College, by the Jesuits.

The great astronomer Galileo came to Rome in 1611; he was honoured and made much of at that period; his name was enrolled among the members of the Accademia dei Lincei, and he was universally treated with the grèatest respect and distinction. On his second visit to the city in 1615, dark clouds collected around him; his teaching was attacked, and a priest anathematised him from the pulpit in the words of Holy Writ, “Viri Galilaei, quid statis aspicientes in cælum?” Galileo was brought to judgment, condemned, and imprisoned by orders of the Tribunal of the Inquisition on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June 1633. After a fortnight in the Fiscal’s apartment, he returned to the palace of La Trinità del Monte, stopping first at Castel Gandolfo; and in July he was at *Siena* where his jailor was Archbishop Piccolomini, “one of his dearest friends”. Galileo found such peace and comfort in conversing with this prelate that he recommenced his studies.

Florence was then ravaged by the plague, and this appears to be the only reason which prevented

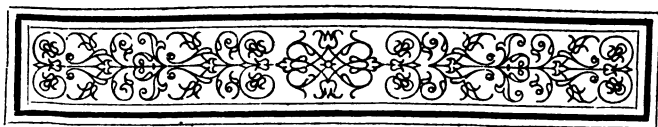


the philosopher's return to his own home; but, the epidemic ceasing at the end of December, Galileo was authorised to exchange, as he himself puts it, "his narrow dwelling for that country liberty he loved so well". He therefore returned to Bellosguardo, and later on to Arcetri on the slope of the hills near the Arno. There, at last, he could breathe the "healthy air, so near that of Florence, his well-beloved home." (1)

Galileo passed eight years in the little house at Arcetri, known as "il Giojello". His room may still be seen, carpeted with leather, also the terrace from which he observed the stars, and a tower known as "Galileo's Tower" whence doubtless he occasionally gazed at Florence and the lovely Val d'Arno. Unfortunately a painful blindness, caused by hard work and old age, soon deprived him of the happiness and consolation he found in study. Galileo lived three years thus isolated from all that had been the delight of his life. When he was dead, the lovely hillside of Arcetri was covered with Florentine citizens dressed in mourning, and the remains of this great man were solemnly borne to S. Croce where Machiavelli and Michael Angelo awaited him.

(1) Tiraboschi, "Stor. della Lett. ital.", t. VIII.





## CHAPTER XXII.

Admirez quel remarquable emploi de la  
force intellectuelle chacun de ces vieillards  
sacrés a fait tour à tour.

*ANON.*

### SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

(CONTINUED).

**N**O sooner was Urban VIII dead than a violent reaction set in against the Barberini; the populace reckoned up their palaces, their villas, their wealth; the Apostolic Chamber claimed from them large sums of money which they were accused of misappropriating, and Innocent X was not long in calling them to a severe account for their extravagant administration. Then the Barberini took to flight; but they managed to obtain the support of France and several of the smaller Italian principalities; they even gained over to their side the new Pope's sister-in-law, and this ambitious family at length succeeded in returning to Rome where they became as powerful as ever.

Gian Battista Pamfili, who took the name of INNOCENT X, was a man of order, activity, and un-

sullied reputation; accustomed for many years to business affairs, he conducted them with prudence and good results. Small in stature, even ill-favoured, if we are to believe Muratori, he was not wanting in dignity, either in countenance or bearing; and, in spite of his seventy-two years, work, far from exhausting him, seemed only to increase his vigour. The first acts of the Pontiff were the re-establishment of regularity in the government and finances, and the repression, by wise administration and strict justice, of the new excesses committed by brigands. When he had been employed in the duties of Datary he had received the nickname of "Monsignore Impossible", a title more suitable when he had reached supreme power, for all flattery was useless against his inflexible will. When people ran after him he avoided them; but, on the other hand, he would go out of his way to meet those who left him in peace. He used to stop poor people in the streets in order to find out their troubles, which he was prompt to relieve. During his walks abroad he was concerned by the frequent complaints made by creditors of the Farnese, and, having compelled other Barons to pay their debts, he felt he could not be more indulgent towards these great vassals of the Church. The assassination of the Bishop of Castro, of which the Duke of Parma was accused, gave him fresh trouble; the pontifical army invaded Castro, razed its chief town to the ground, and affixed the inscription "Qui fu Castro" to a pyramid.

Such was Innocent X, energetic in his plans and swift in their accomplishment: he gave a decided

opinion on the Jansenist question (1); sought to restore orderly living in monasteries by suppressing those that were at fault, and succeeded, despite the heavy calls on the treasury, in erecting splendid monuments, reducing taxation, and in leaving the public finances in a prosperous condition. Unfortunately he did not know how to impose that respect to which he was fully entitled upon some of those about him. He never lavished favours on his own family; but he, who was ordinarily so resolute, allowed himself to be influenced, as is not unusual with old men, by an ambitious and intriguing woman. This woman, Donna Olimpia Maidalchini by name, was his brother's widow; ever since she had entered the Pamfili family she had devoted herself to its interests, and in a manner had become its head owing to her imperious will and rare talents. The aged Innocent X highly esteemed his sister-in-law, and felt deeply grateful to her for having sacrificed

(1) Read in "*Mémoires du P. Rapin*" (Bks. VII and VIII) an account of the Conferences in which the five famous propositions of Jansenius were examined. The author, who journeyed to Rome to examine the Vatican archives on this subject, points out distinctly the prudence, firmness, good sense, and kindness of Innocent X. Although eighty years of age, he assisted at every sitting, listened to every argument, but without allowing himself to be biassed or led away by the subtleties of either side. Father Rapin informs us "that he consulted all the lights of earth, as though nothing could be obtained from those of heaven; then, having enlightened himself upon matters on which he had to decide by every means which human prudence could dictate, he turned to God, as though he had nothing to expect from man".

her life to her husband's memory, when, young as she was, she might have married again. (1) Thus it was that she obtained an influence over him which became irksome with age. Olimpia took up her residence in the Vatican with her son, who had been raised to the purple; there she was surrounded with a court and flatterers, who were all the more numerous since they believed more was to be got out of her than out of the stern Pope. It was Olimpia who first received ambassadors; her portrait hung in the halls of those who wished to attain to some dignity; foreign courts sent her magnificent presents to gain her favour, and not a benefice fell vacant but bribes were offered in order to secure her good-will in filling it.

Thus the Pope, unknown to himself, was surrounded by intrigue, the shame of which greatly compromised the dignity of the Apostolic Chair. Several influential men complained; even Olimpia's children, weary of her haughty temper, endeavoured to bring about her disgrace, and at length, when popular discontent reached the Pontiff's ears, Innocent ignominiously expelled his sister-in-law from the pontifical palace. But the ambitious woman would not own herself defeated; she relied upon the weakness of an old man to whom it would be easy to represent herself as the victim of some hateful plot,

(1) Some writers have sought to incriminate the relations between Innocent X and his sister-in-law. No charge could be more ill-founded. See the remarkable portrait drawn of Innocent by the Protestant writer Leopold Ranke. (Tom. IV, p. 310, Saint-Chéron's ed.)

and, in fact, it was not long before she returned to the Vatican, where she remained immovable until the death of Innocent X.

In one of the halls of the villa Pamfili, on the Aurelian way, may be seen a bust of the too celebrated Olimpia Maidalchini sculptured by Algardi. Her bed and brocaded slippers have also been preserved (1); quaint memories of a woman whose intriguing cupidity tarnished the splendour of a glorious reign.

Let us turn now to some of its brighter pages, which one painful remembrance will not suffice to banish from the pages of history. To Innocent X, Rome owes that fine prison in the Strada Giulia proclaimed by Howard to be one of the most solid and healthy in Europe. It was purchased by the Confraternity of S. Jerome, who also supported the prisoners from their own funds; private charity thus coming to the aid of the Treasury, and assuming some of its duties.

S. Peter's Basilica had been completed; but Innocent X worked at its internal decoration. The pillars were encrusted with rich marbles and medallions supported by children; the altars were enriched by columns and bas-reliefs, among which figured the famous "Meeting of Attila and S. Leo", for which Algardi received 10,000 crowns. The church of S. John Lateran was almost completely renewed on the designs of Borromini; bas-reliefs, representing corresponding scenes from the Bible and

(1) • In the Doria Palace at Viterbo.

Gospels, added to its magnificence; but, amid all this splendour, one cannot help regretting the ancient walls of the Basilica of the Saviour, of which only traces are left here and there, and the old disposition of the "verde antico" columns which have disappeared behind more massive pilasters.

Mention must also be made of that splendid Pamfili palace, in which Innocent loved to collect antique statuary, paintings by Guido, Guercino, and the Cavaliere d'Arpino, and where a fine gallery was handed over to Pietro di Cortona in order to be decorated by his clever brush with scenes from the *Aeneid*.

Least of all must we omit to mention the great fountain of the Piazza Navona, one of Bernini's most magnificent conceptions. At first Bernini enjoyed none of Innocent X favour, for envy had succeeded in bringing discredit upon his works: the great sculptor, filled with disgust, consoled himself in his retreat for the inconstancy of popular favour by lovingly designing the mausoleum of Urban VIII, his benefactor, with those figures of Charity and Justice which were to be for him the occasion of a great triumph.

Meanwhile a competition had been started for the construction of a fountain on the Piazza Navona, and, among the famous artists who were invited to send designs, Bernini was alone omitted; however, unknown to the Pope, Prince Ludovisi sought him out, and pressed him to enter the lists. Indeed, as the author of the "Barcaccia" and of the

"Glaucus" (1), he was entitled to the honour of erecting a monument which should satisfy the Pope. At first Bernini hesitated, but, the desire of publicly surpassing all his rivals being too strong for him, he seized his pen and sketched a magnificent design. From the centre of a basin, 70 feet in diameter, rose an enormous rock surmounted by an obelisk. Four torrents rushed from this rock through openings facing the four points of the compass; at each angle stood a colossal statue representing the Ganges, the Nile, the Rio de la Plata, and the Danube; on one side was a walrus, and on the other a Numidian lion drinking at the stream. Prince Ludovisi took the model and placed it in a room where it was sure to attract the attention of the Pope; when Innocent X caught sight of it he could not repress an exclamation of delight, and Bernini's cause was won. From that moment the artist had no rest, so keen was the impatience of the Pontiff, and the works were rapidly completed. One day, the fountain being apparently finished, albeit nothing stirred, Innocent asked the artist when the waters would come. "Shortly", replied Bernini, "but it will require some time to make their channel." After blessing the master, the Pope was about to retire, when the noise of flowing waters reechoed over the place. Innocent returned, and, unable to restrain his joy, cried out: "Bernini, you are ever the same;

(1) Barcaccia, means bad boat: it refers to the foundering boat on the Piazza di Spagna. Glaucus, on the Triton, is the subject of the Barberini fountain.



by your delightful surprise you have added ten years to my life." (1)

The decoration of the Piazza Navona was afterwards completed by the church of S. Agnes, which, at the Pope's expense, was rebuilt on the site where the saint had been exposed. This church, begun by Rainaldi, was finished by Borromini whose fantastic talent was then greatly admired by some adepts.

Francesco Borromini was one of Maderna's pupils; he had certain happy ideas, but was a slave to jealousy. As long as Bernini's reputation did not take away from him all hope of becoming the chief architect of Rome, he followed the beaten track, and distinguished himself by some good work; but, when Bernini's fame increased, his whimsical genius prompted Borromini to endeavour to eclipse, by the originality of his creations, the rival he had been unable to conquer on level terms. Clever in the art of construction, he loved to surprise by the manner in which he overcame a difficulty; sometimes supporting a heavy roof by a slender column, at others upholding a light cornice upon a massive pillar. The extravagant style of this strange artist may best be studied at S. Andrea-delle-Fratte, La Sapienza, and at S. Carlo-alle-Quattro-Fontane, the masterpiece of this new style. The belfry of La Sapienza is spiral, and the volutes of the cornice are distorted within. The Pamfili-Doria Palace, on the Piazza del Collegio Romano, and the Falconieri Palace, on the banks of

(1) See M. Quatremère de Quincy's "*Vies des Architectes célèbres*", article Bernini.

the Tiber, are also two of the most remarkable works of Borromini, whose name is inscribed outside the Palazzo Doria.

Alessandro Algardi of Bologna was another artist whose name attained great prominence during the reign of Innocent X. He had studied under Luigi Caracci, and was brought to Rome by Domenichino. His bas-reliefs of Attila and of S. Agnes brought him into great repute; to him we owe the palace and gardens of the beautiful Pamfili villa, whose great pines attract the attention of all persons wandering in the Roman Campagna.

The villa Pamfili and the villa Borghese are the two favourite promenades of the inhabitants of Rome. Algardi placed a hydraulic organ in the grounds of the Pamfili villa more than two hundred years ago.

Borromini and Algardi were the two principal rivals against whom Bernini had to contend; but the exhaustless resources of his genius left them neither peace nor truce. Now he would raise the grand palace of Monte-Citorio, with its Corinthian pilasters and polygonal façade; then, under Alexander VII, he undertook the Vatican colonnade, harmonious in design, magnificent in effect, and which is said to have cost 850,000 Roman crowns; again he would open the royal staircase at the Vatican, or enshrine S. Peter's Chair in a monument of bronze, as striking and beautiful as the baldacchino over the Confession. (1)

(1) A distinguished Italian writer, Signor Tullio Dandolo, says, speaking of Bernini, "Bernini e le sue pompe marmoree". This expression particularly applies here. The first stone of

The wooden chair, encrusted with ivory, upon which S. Peter sat, had always formed part of the treasures of the church. (1) Bernini enclosed it in a bronze gilt chair, which, by a happy inspiration, he caused to be supported by two doctors of the Greek Church, SS. Athanasius and John Chrysostom, and by two doctors of the Latin Church, SS. Augustine and Ambrose. Above it he placed the pontifical tiara, and still higher he represented a multitude of Angels and Seraphim soaring in mysterious light; while, amid the beams of celestial glory, appeared the Holy Spirit covering the sublime throne of Peter with His wings, against which all the force of God's enemies are of no avail. It is to be regretted that the execution of this monument is unequal to the grandeur of its conception.

ALEXANDER VII, whose name was Fabio Chigi, was descended from the celebrated Agostino Chigi, the friend and patron of all the distinguished men at the Court of Leo X. Fabio united to rare piety

the Vatican colonnade was placed on the 25<sup>th</sup> of August 1661. "Never", says M. de Quincy, "has architecture conceived anything more magnificent since the pompous undertakings of the Roman Emperors."

(1) This seat, adorned with ivory bas-reliefs representing the labours of Hercules, is an antique senatorial chair, probably that of the Senator Pudens, in whose house the Apostle had stayed. Such at least is Mgr. Gerbet's definite opinion. Some arches supported by small columns at the sides and by pilasters at the back, a cornice and triangular frontal complete the decoration of this piece of furniture, which it would appear dates from the reign of Claudius. Its dimensions are: width, 1 mètre; depth, om., 625; height, lm., 05.

that love of letters which was the distinctive characteristic of the learned men of the Renaissance. Both in his tastes and habits, he was a man of former days; but he was also a man of the future by his cleverness and zeal, which, inclining him always towards the reform of abuses, had given him a reputation for severity at the Sacred College. On the death of Innocent X Cardinal Ottoboni remarked:—"We must look out for a good man." "There is one yonder," answered Azzolino, pointing to Chigi.

Such were the antecedents of Alexander VII: now that he was Pope he kept a coffin in his room lest he should forget death amid his greatness; he even drank from a skull-shaped goblet, on which were engraved sentences relating to eternity. These serious thoughts were allied to a natural benevolence and pleasant manner, and, throughout his reign, the Vatican was the meeting place for all the best and most distinguished men in Rome. Among these were the Pope's director, Pallavicini, a man of rare genius, born for all that was great, "*ad omnia summa natus*" (1); he had preferred a small cell at the Gesù to any grandeur, and was gifted both as a poet and writer, leaving us a history of the Council of Trent; then Giovanni Bona, a venerable monk of Cîteaux, who was to become a Cardinal; he had already refused bishoprics, and if he remained in Rome it was only out of obedience to the Pope, for his heart remained in the monastic cell where he had meditated on and enjoyed a foretaste of heaven.

(1) A letter of Eritreo, quoted by Tiraboschi.

After these, Hilarion Rancati, a monk, one of the main props of Propaganda, speaking both Arabic and Syriac, and the translator of the Bible for Eastern nations; Natale Rondinino, a youthful poet and Secretary of Briefs; a dignified prelate named Francesco Nerli, Archbishop of Florence; among all these moved Bernini, with the easy grace of a man accustomed to live among Princes, now describing his works to the Pope, now proposing to place an obelisk, which the Dominicans had just unearthed in their garden, on an elephant's back in front of La Minerva, or suggesting a scheme for completing the Porta del Popolo, that it might serve as a triumphal arch for Queen Christina of Sweden, who was expected in Rome.

Such was the aspect of the Vatican Court in 1655; neither domineering nephews nor grasping relatives were to be found; all was gentleness and peace. "My relations are the poor," remarked the Pope, "and, like Christ, I know not where to look for any who are nearer." But some persons complained of the Pope's harshness to his own family; they told him that his brother ought not to remain a simple citizen of Siena, representing the dignity imposed on him by his rank, and the respect due to all belonging to him. Alexander then allowed himself to be persuaded, and summoned his brother Mario Chigi and his nephew, who had previously been excluded from that City, to Rome.

Yet the Chigi never acquired that influence over public affairs which had been possessed by Cardinals Borghese and Barberini. However disinclined Alex-

ander VII might feel to perform the hard work of his station, however long he might remain in his pleasant retreat at Castel Gandolfo, near Mount Albano, the weight of public administration fell less upon his brother and nephews than upon the Congregazione di Stato. This Congregation, instituted by Urban VIII, embraced in its duties both civil and diplomatic affairs; it rapidly acquired great importance, and made any other interference extremely difficult.

The Chigi therefore lived peacefully in their grand palace on the Piazza Colonna, or else in their country seat at Aricia; there, however, storms overtook them. A sullen misunderstanding had for some time existed between the Vatican and the French Court, and the entrance of the Duke de Créqui into Rome, in 1662, as ambassador, with a military retinue, appeared to forebode no peaceful intentions. Under the circumstances the Pope's brother, Mario Chigi, thought it his duty to arm the Corsican guards; but quarrels broke out, and a Corsican having been slain his comrades beat to general quarters, in spite of their officers, and finally assaulted the Palazzo Farnese where the Duke de Créqui lodged. Créqui strongly barricaded the gates, thus rendering futile the efforts of his assailants; but, just as they were drawing off at nightfall, the Duchess's carriage drove by, and they fired several shots at it from their arquebuses with the result that a page and a beggar were killed. The Duchess fled horror-stricken to the palace of Cardinal d'Este, and Créqui, without waiting for the guilty to be punished, left Rome with all his suite.

This unfortunate affair greatly embarrassed Alexander VII; the haughty disposition of Louis XIV was well known; he now even went to the length of accusing the Chigi and Cardinal Imperiale of complicity with the Corsican outbreak. Avignon and the county of Venaissin were invaded, and, by order of the Parliament of Aix, annexed to Provence; French troops were dispatched to Italy, and the Pope, while trying to calm the King's ire, was compelled to take steps for his own defence. At length, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of February 1664, a treaty was effected, the principal clauses of which were that the Chigi should ask pardon for what had occurred at Rome, and that a pyramid should be erected in the centre of the town bearing an inscription that henceforth no Corsican should be allowed to enter the Pontifical Guards. This pyramid was destroyed in 1668 at Clement IX request.

Boldness and energy were less characteristic of Alexander VII than caution, justice, and desire for rest; he showed both foresight and generosity in the days of plague and famine, and had determined to sequester the revenues of lax monasteries for the maintenance of a college composed of the most learned men of Europe in every branch of science. Unhappily the turmoil of his reign left him no leisure for the accomplishment of this grand project. Nevertheless he devoted himself to the enlargement of La Sapienza by completing the new buildings begun by Urban VIII, in which he founded a valuable library, and added a botanical garden.

Among the monuments which date from the pontificate of Alexander VII are the arsenal at Civita-

Vecchia; the graceful portal of S. Maria-della-Pace, which is Pietro di Cortona's architectural masterpiece; the enlargement of the S. Spirito and S. Salvatore Hospitals; the church of S. Maria-in-Campitelli, erected by the Romans in thanksgiving for the cessation of the plague in 1656; the organs and stuccoes at S. Maria-del-Popolo; the rebuilding of the small church, dedicated to the Magi, at Propaganda; that portion of the Quirinal Palace which runs along the Strada Pia; the levelling of the Piazza del Panteone and the complete restoration of its portico. (1) Finally it was in Alexander VII reign that Cardinal Gastaldi rebuilt the two small churches of S. Maria-del-Monte and S. Maria-dei-Miracoli, whose porticoes and symmetrical cupolas gladden the heart of the traveller who approaches Rome by the Porta del Popolo.

Among charitable institutions may be mentioned the Convent of the Seven Dolours, built by the Duchess of Latera for the Augustinian nuns; the Asylum of the child Jesus for poor girls; the Beggars' Asylum, founded by the same lady and the celebrated Jesuit Father Garavita. This Duchess of Latera, a Savelli by birth, was a noble example of

(1) When Eugenius IV cleared away the ruins from the Piazza del Panteone it was found that three columns were missing from the portico. One was replaced at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the others by Alexander VII with two granite columns from the Baths of Agrippina, discovered on the Piazza of S. Louis of France. Alexander VII has been blamed for destroying the Arch of Marcus Aurelius in order to widen the Corso.



Christian charity. (1) She collected little girls from the streets in order to educate them. During their leisure hours these children marched through the thoroughfares in groups, singing hymns, and asking for alms to assist their benefactress to maintain their establishment. In 1660, this Asylum, grown wealthy by gifts and charitable legacies, was installed in the large palace of Cardinal Pio near the Coliseum. There the youthful inmates were taught to weave cotton, silk, and wool, and even to dye stuffs; the crimson shades of the Conservatorio delle Mendicante being long held in high esteem.

A noble decree was also issued by Alexander VII instituting free schools for girls in each quarter of Rome, where not only religion but trades appropriate to their sex were taught.

A man deserves mention, who, if he created nothing, at least left behind him an edifying example of virtue and charity. Cardinal Frederick of Hesse was originally a Protestant Prince; becoming a Knight of Malta he distinguished himself at the taking of Tunis in 1640; on being raised to the purple by Innocent X, he made himself a servant of the poor, living among them and nursing them personally during a year of pestilence.

(1) Among other persons, conspicuous for their charity at Rome during the seventeenth century, were Livia Vipereschi, who founded the "Conservatorio della S. Concezione all'Arco di Vito", and Camilla Orsini, Princess Borghese, to whom the Ursulines were indebted for their first establishment in the Strada Vittoria.

Rome was indeed unrivalled in all that constituted civilisation; foreigners turned instinctively towards her, her population had been steadily increasing and now exceeded 120,000 souls.

When Christina of Sweden resigned her crown, her first thoughts were directed towards Rome. Christina was such a remarkable woman that it is easy to understand the excitement produced by the news of her arrival. Crowds rushed to gaze on this singular being who could not bear to be treated as a woman; who, before she had attained her twentieth year, discussed philology with Freinsheim, medicine with Bourdelot, literature with Saumaise, philosophy with Descartes, and who, though daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, had abjured Protestantism.

Her conversion proved a glorious conquest for the Catholic Faith, and her abjuration received additional renown by her renunciation of the crown and the motives which had prompted this action. It was said that when quite young she had felt greatly attracted to a worship in which every noble feeling — abnegation, devotion, chastity, self-sacrifice — was considered a virtue. One day she exclaimed:— “When one is a Catholic there is the satisfaction of believing what so many noble hearts have believed for sixteen centuries; there is the glory of belonging to a faith which has been proved by millions of miracles and millions of martyrs, a religion, finally, which has produced so many holy maidens who have triumphed over the weakness of their sex, and have devoted their lives to God.” (1)

(1) See Ranke, IV, p. 371.

Such was Christina when she came to Rome. The Pope had sent the learned Dutchman, Luke Holstenius, the Vatican librarian, to meet her. She was received with unusual honours in every town of the Papal States through which she passed; at Loreto she laid her crown and sceptre at the Virgin's feet, and entered Rome, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of December 1655, amid the thundering acclamations of the people, by the Porta del Popolo, which Bernini had just completed in her honour. Muratori says:— "It is impossible to express the joy which her arrival produced at the pontifical court; the Pope and Cardinals spared no demonstration of respect towards this new heroine."

Christina, however, remained only a short time in Rome; ere two years had elapsed we find her with Monaldeschi at Fontainebleau; afterwards she returned to Rome, where she quarrelled with Alexander VII, withdrew again only to come back once more to the city, where she spent the rest of her days.

Alexander VII died on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 1667 and was succeeded by Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi, who took the title of CLEMENT IX. He was one of those irreproachable men who find in the conscientious fulfilment of duty a strength equivalent to that of genius. His modesty and good life were acknowledged by all; his family were not sent away from the Vatican, but he merely gave them ordinary employment, allowing all the high functionaries to remain in their posts instead of dismissing them, as had often happened before, in order to satisfy the ambition of friends or fellow-countrymen.

The activity of Clement IX offered a great contrast to the too fastidious reserve of his predecessor. On one side he was mediating between Spain and France; on the other he was sending help to the unfortunate town of Candia, where even the women were displaying heroic courage against the thousands of Turks besieging it. Art continued to flourish at Rome; the ancient Ælian bridge was ornamented with balustrades and statues of angels bearing the instruments of the Passion. *Ciro Ferri* was completing the paintings of the cupola of *S. Agnes*, and placing, in the *Chiesa nuova*, a beautiful baldacchino supported by columns of *porta-santa*, with a bronze gilt front studded with precious stones. *Bernini*, at *S. Peter's*, was engaged on his final work, which represented *Alexander VII* kneeling on his tomb, surrounded by the Virtues, *Death* raising with fleshless fingers the curtain which veils the entrance to the sepulchre.

*Borromini* died at Rome towards the beginning of Clement IX's reign; *Poussin* had preceded him by several years: his death had been calm and peaceful, but *Borromini's* was accompanied by very tragic circumstances. His jealousy of *Bernini* had become frenzied; it had driven him to quit Rome and wander afar; but, seized by an irresistible desire to compete once more with his great rival, he returned and demanded his compass, square, and pencils. Those around him, horrified at his haggard expression, kept them from him, lest he should do himself an injury, whereupon, mastered by rage, he flung himself upon his sword, which had been carelessly left by his bedside, and expired.

Nicolas Poussin, in his youth, had come to Rome in search of those masters and models which he could not procure in his own country. At Rome he entered into close friendship with Cavaliere Marini, who at that time was the leading spirit of the Academy of Humorists, and whose clever but affected poems were the delight of the drawing-rooms of the period. Marini familiarized Poussin with the works of the poets, and it is said his talent thus acquired that tinge of Virgilian melancholy which so greatly adds to the charm of his paintings. But Poussin remained as simple and natural as Marini was ambitious and affected. Although Poussin was the greatest painter of his day in Rome, he was not the most appreciated there, very few of his masterpieces remaining in that city; but his "Martyrdom of S. Erasmus", at the Vatican (1), his "Flight into Egypt", at the Doria Palace, and his "Shepherds asleep", at the Colonna Palace, are noble reminders of the poet of Arcadia.

Poussin's habits were remarkably simple; he lived alone without servants, never asked high prices for his pictures, and continually improved his mind by meditation and study. He was often to be seen watching the effects of sunset from Monte Testaccio, a mount formed of rubbish outside the city of the Cæsars, whence a fine view is obtained of the winding Tiber. (2)

(1) The martyrdom of S. Erasmus is reproduced in mosaic at S. Peter's.

(2) Monte Testaccio is composed of the broken pottery of the ancient Romans.

Chief among Poussin's pupils were his two brothers-in-law, Jean and Guaspre Dughet. Jean engraved the principal works of the master, while Guaspre was so successful in painting scenes from nature that he was only known as Guaspre Poussin. (1)

Poussin's last years were sad. He thus writes to M. de Chanteloup:— "After nursing my poor wife, who was confined to her bed with consumption and a bad cough, for nine months, I have lost her, just when I most needed her care. Her death leaves me alone, full of anxieties, paralytic, weighed down by infirmities of all kinds, a stranger without friends, for friends are not to be found in this city . . . Beholding myself then in this sad condition . . . I have made a little will by which I leave more than ten thousand crowns of this country to my poor relatives who dwell at Andelys. They are uncouth, ignorant persons, who, after receiving this money on my death, will greatly need the help and advice of a charitable person: I feel confident, after my experience of your kindness, that you will willingly do for them what, for twenty-five years, you have done for your poor Poussin."

It is melancholy in reading this letter to come across the phrase "a stranger without friends", after he had spent the best part of his life at Rome. Rome was, however, proud of Poussin, and wished to rank him among the number of her sons; this,

(1) The Doria Palace possesses a rich collection of Guaspre, or Gaspar, Poussin's landscapes; among them is a view of the Ponte di Lucano.

however, d'Agincourt prevented by placing his bust in the Pantheon, bearing the inscription, "Pussino, pictori Gallo". Chateaubriand also raised a monument to him in S. Lorenzo-in-Lucina where he was buried; the front of this monument is sculptured with that scene of the Shepherds of Arcadia wherein is revealed the great painter's remembrance of death amid all the joys of life: "et in Arcadiâ ego".

It should be noticed that landscape painting was introduced to Rome by painters from the North, the Italians having always preferred that of figures. Matthieu and Paul Brill, who were employed by Gregory XIII, were Flemings; Poussin and Claude Gelée, better known by the name of Lorrain, were Frenchmen. Claude Lorrain came to Rome as a scullion, his parents having been unable to teach him anything; but seeds of a great talent developed in him before long. Several of his best works are now in the Doria Gallery, among them being his masterpiece, "the Landscape of the Mill". Claude was not endowed with varied talents, although, like Poussin, he was gifted with poetic genius.

Younger by some years than Lorrain came Salvator Rosa, the fiery Neapolitan. In character he was totally different; sullen of aspect, with a troubled expression, if there were poetry in his soul, it was sombre and morose. Instead of the cool shades dear to Lorrain's brush, Salvator loved to paint barren deserts, bare rocks, and huge trees blasted by age.

Salvator Rosa died at Rome in 1667, and was buried in the church of S. Maria-degli-Angeli, where

a laudatory epitaph was inscribed to him by Father Oliva, the General of the Jesuits.

The administration of Clement IX was just and enlightened; he suppressed a tax which weighed heavily on wheat, and favoured local industry by prohibiting the introduction of foreign woollen goods into his dominions. When his nephew, Tomaso Rospigliosi, died in 1668, the Romans spontaneously erected a statue to him at the Capitol.

Clement IX sank on the 9<sup>th</sup> of December 1669 beneath the grief he experienced on hearing of the capture of Candia by the Turks, after a siege in which all the resources of the defence, and almost all the lives of the defenders, had been exhausted. This Pontiff had chosen for his device a pelican tearing out its entrails, with the legend:— "*Clemens aliis, non sibi.*" The sentiment herein expressed also led him to revive several of the ancient customs of the papacy. Thus he would visit hospitals, and nurse the sick; he confessed pilgrims at S. Peter's, and daily admitted a dozen strangers to his table.

Among these strangers heretics were occasionally seen, and several of them, struck by the virtues of this holy old man, abjured their errors. Protestants came in crowds to see "this Pontiff fallen from the skies". The grief of the Romans was profound when, as Muratori relates, "they lost their tender Father; for they had always admired the wisdom of his government, the humility of his nephews, and his own rare virtues." He was buried at S. Peter's, beneath a plain marble slab, which, by his express orders, bore no further epitaph than his name and titles.



After five months of hesitation and cabals, Cardinal Emilio Altieri, an old man of eighty, was selected by the Conclave. Altieri was an upright man, yet well acquainted with the world, and gifted with that affability and generosity which are invaluable in the exercise of power; but his infirmities and great age made him realize the full weight of the task about to be laid upon him. Pointing to his legs, swollen with gout, he said to the Cardinals:—  
“Guardate ben, ch' io non sono abile.” As a fact the new Pontiff had to rely on his nephew, Cardinal Paluzzi-Altieri, for the details of business. But, although confined to a bed of sickness, he knew how to preserve Clement IX wisdom in the administration.

In his reign were instituted the “Conservatorio della Divina Provvidenza”, for young girls of good character, and the “Convent of S. Maria-della-Visitazione-alla-Lungara”, for the nuns of S. François de Sales. CLEMENT X quickened the activity of the Congregazione di Stato, founded by Urban VIII with the object of finding a way to reduce taxation; and he gave a fresh impetus to commerce by a decree allowing nobles, without loss of dignity, to engage in trade, provided it were wholesale. Rome preserves many records of his reign; the tabernacle of lapis-lazuli and gilt bronze in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament at S. Peter's; the outer façade of the tribune at S. Maria-Maggiore, and one of the fountains on the Piazza del Vaticano. (1) It was also

(1) The other fountain had been erected by Maderna under Paul V.

during his reign that the celebrated mosaic by Giotto (la Navicella), or rather its reproduction by Mannetti, was placed in S. Peter's portico, Clement X being represented in prayer in the right hand corner.

The last years of this Pontiff were troubled by claims made by ambassadors from European Powers; they refused to submit to the new custom house tariffs, which Cardinal Altieri endeavoured to impose on goods imported by them. The ambassadors complained of this tariff; but the Cardinal made light of their grievances, which he did not even allow to reach the Pope's ears, bluntly remarking that "every Sovereign was master in his own house". But Louis XIV was so resolved on gaining his point that the Roman Government was compelled to yield. Clement X survived this humiliation for a short time only, dying, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July 1675, at the age of eighty-six.

The question of ambassadorial privilege attained great importance during the seventeenth century; less attention was then paid to the justice of a measure than to privileges and rights which might impede its execution. The success obtained by the representatives of the Powers encouraged them in their exactions. They comported themselves as petty sovereigns exempt from laws in Rome, and as entitled to grant the immunity they themselves enjoyed to all who inhabited the same quarter. But they soon found a Pope who was their match; one who possessed a strength which, being derived from a sense of duty, was impervious to fear. This Pope was INNOCENT XI, of the noble family of Odescalchi of Como. Benedetto

Odescalchi bore such a high character, and was known to be so pious, that one day, during the Conclave, the populace shouted out his name beneath the portico of S. Peter's. Therefore when his name was proclaimed by the Sacred College it was received with universal and enthusiastic cheering; the only man who did not join in the general joy being Odescalchi himself.

Odescalchi was a man of the old stamp, both in humility and self-abnegation. Muratori says of him:—"He brought sanctity with him to the throne; his life had always been austere and blameless; he was remarkable for his seriousness, his zeal for the welfare of the Church, his disinterestedness, and that generosity towards the poor which was characteristic of his family."

Innocent XI had a nephew of the same name at Rome, whom he dearly loved; but he would never allow him to take part in public affairs; he forbade his other relatives to come near Rome, and only allowed a few of them pensions of 250 crowns to enable them to pursue their studies. These strict principles were carried by him into every branch of administration; economies were effected by suppressing unnecessary offices and by putting an end to exemptions from taxation; and the interest of the public debt was lowered to the current rate for money. He was thus enabled to send large sums of money to Sobieski, the hero of Christian Europe. Innocent XI did not even hesitate to go beyond his income for the public good, and a Venetian ambassador reckons at no less than 15,000,000 crowns the amount he borrowed for

the benefit of Christendom. The re-establishment of order and justice was also the object of Innocent's closest attention; but here he was met by serious difficulties. The exercise of power was frequently impossible at Rome, owing to the numerous privileges that existed there. During the reign of Clement VIII, the threshold of Cardinal Farnese's palace was sacred against efforts made by officers of justice to arrest debtors, this was also the case under Alexander VII at the palace of Cardinal d'Este, as well as at the residences of ambassadors. "The ambassadors maintained that not only their palaces, but also the quarter in which they resided, should be exempt from the pursuit of justice. Thus it resulted that evil-doers took refuge from punishment, and sallied forth at night to commit fresh robberies and murders. This state of affairs became intolerable." (1)

Innocent protested strongly against these privileges, and declared that for the future he would only give audience to those ambassadors who renounced them. Hereupon several Powers assumed a hostile attitude towards the Roman Court; but Louis XIV was conspicuous by the extravagance of his demands, and expected the same adulation and subservience from all Europe that he received at Versailles. But Europe watched his keen ambition with mistrust, and constantly kept watch against him. A special motive was urging Louis XIV onwards in his quarrel with Rome; he had long been jealous of an authority

(1) Note in the translation of M. Leo's "*Histoire d'Italie*", B. XII, c. II.

which, from its spiritual attributes, exercised great influence within his States. He had done all he could to weaken these attributes; he had, on his own motion, extended the right of Regalia to provinces where it had not existed, and had provoked the famous declaration of 1682.

Such was the state of affairs between the Pope and the King of France when the Marquis of Lavardin arrived, as ambassador, at Rome, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of November 1687. His suite consisted of more than 400 men all remarkable for their martial bearing. Lavardin stationed armed men at all the approaches to the Palazzo Farnese, where he resided, and proclaimed his intention of maintaining those privileges which the other ambassadors had renounced. Innocent thereupon refused to admit him to an audience, and excommunicated him. From that moment the clergy and Roman nobility avoided the ambassador; but he affected to show himself much in public, escorted by two hundred knights, as though he were in a vanquished town; and, on Christmas Eve, he assisted with great pomp at the Divine Office in the church of S. Louis. Next day the church was placed under an interdict, whereupon Lavardin proceeded to the Vatican Basilica accompanied by several hundred armed men; but, on seeing him, the priests withdrew. The anger of Louis XIV, a man utterly self-willed, may be imagined when the messengers from Rome brought him this news. He caused Avignon to be occupied, and threatened to call a Council; but Innocent XI remained firm, and Lavardin was recalled. Matters remained in this condition until the death of the Pope, and

the first French ambassador who came to Rome, under Alexander VIII, renounced the disputed privileges.

Innocent XI endured great physical sufferings during the last years of his life; but, though they destroyed his rest, he never allowed them to interfere with his public duties. At one time he was distributing the gold, saved by his judicious administration, to the unfortunate inhabitants of Benevento and Romagna, who had been ruined by a terrible earthquake; at another, he was assisting pious institutions which were rising around him in the pontifical city. The Ospizio di S. Galla and the Ospizio Apostolica di S. Michele-a-Ripa date from this reign, and were founded by two of his relatives. S. Galla became a night refuge for the homeless poor, and S. Michele was a splendid institution wherein children were educated gratuitously. From its foundation it was a model of order and wise administration; its dormitories were large and airy, its workshops spacious and designed on an excellent plan. Dom Tomaso Odescalchi, the founder, directed the small workpeople, and often assisted them.

In the midst of his sufferings, these Christian interests gave Innocent much comfort; but a further cause for rejoicing was that Sobieski cut the Turkish army to pieces before Vienna. Innocent decreed that a special festival should annually be held in celebration of this victory. (1)

(1) This festival is celebrated in the church of Our Lady of Victories on the Sunday within the Octave of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin.

This worthy Pontiff died on the 12<sup>th</sup> of August 1689. On seeing his weakness, those around him endeavoured to persuade him to fill up the numerous Cardinals' titles then vacant; but he refused to do so on the ground that his judgment was no longer fit for so important a decision. For fifty days his nephew, Livio Odescalchi, vainly asked for an interview, and, when at length he was permitted to kneel by the dying man's bedside, the aged Pope reminded him of the examples of their ancestors who had always been the protectors of the poor and infirm; he advised him never to meddle with the affairs of the Church, especially with the approaching Conclave, and, having confided to him 100,000 crowns for charitable purposes, dismissed him with his fatherly blessing.

Meanwhile the people crowded the Vatican, anxiously following the hourly reports of the Pope's illness; but, when the news of his death spread through Rome, most of the inhabitants invoked his intercession, and quarrelled for his relics instead of praying for him.

Queen Christina of Sweden just preceded Innocent XI to the tomb. She had resided in Rome many years, and had acquired Roman tastes and habits. She held open court in her spacious Riario Palace, at the Lungara, which had been built by the nephew of Sixtus IV, and where, in the days of their glory, had dwelt the intrepid Caterina Sforza, Duchess of Imola, the learned and generous Cardinal of S. Giorgio, young Michael Angelo and Erasmus, who throughout his life never forgot the delightful con-

versations of the Riario Palace (*confabulationes mellifluæ*).

At this home of many memories Christina brought together the intellectual and agreeable, and collected pictures, cameos, books, and medals. Christina had always been devoted to letters, and the study she had made, from her youth upwards, of most European languages had developed in her a great appreciation of real beauty and simplicity, which Italian literature was rapidly losing; in her endeavours to revive these she founded an Academy in her palace.

A history might be written exclusively on the Roman Academies, so numerous had they become since the beginning of the sixteenth century. First came the Academy of Pomponius Lætus; then the *Noctes Vaticanæ*, over which S. Carlo Borromeo had presided; the *Accademia dei Vignajuoli*, the members of which assumed names bearing upon the title of the Academy, such as Vine-branch, Verjuice, Must; the *Accademia della Virtù*, which dealt principally with architecture, though it lightened its labours by joyous banquets; that of the Humorists, the Ordinaries, and the celebrated *Accademia dei Lincei*, founded by Federigo Cesi, and which specially devoted itself to natural sciences. Each of these assemblies had its own device and coat of arms, its laws and pompously titled hierarchy.

At Christina's palace might be found the venerable Borelli, discoursing on physiology and mathematics, and expounding his fine work on the mechanism of animal movement, a work Christina published at her own expense; Zappi, a lawyer, whose reputation rests



upon a few sonnets of great merit; it was said that his lines on the "Moses" of Michael Angelo were as fine as the statue itself; the aged Bishop Angelo della Noce, once Abbot of Monte-Cassino, who spoke Latin with such ease that even Mabillon was astonished; the antiquary Joseph Suarez, Bishop of Vaison; the fine poet Menzini, who wrote alternately pious hymns and Anacreontic odes; Emanuel Schelstrate, the Vatican Librarian; Bernini, Christina's favourite artist (1), and Alessandro Guidi, the Italian Pindar, small and deformed, who attached himself closely to Christina, and sought to attract attention by his assumed importance. He was then engaged on his "Endymion", a work in which Christina assisted him. (2)

After the Queen of Sweden's death, the Academy of Arcadia was founded in her palace; she bequeathed her fine library, formed by Gustavus Adolphus from German scientific spoils, to the Holy See, as a mark of her gratitude for the noble and generous hospitality she had received in the pontifical city. Her tomb was placed in S. Peter's facing that of Countess Matilda; an unhappy contrast, for Matilda was great without seeking to be so, while Christina's main object was to attract attention to herself by her eccentricities.

The successor of Innocent XI, ALEXANDER VIII, reigned only sixteen months; his last, and probably

(1) When Bernini died he left a fortune of 400,000 crowns (£ 86,400). Christina is reported to have said:— "Had such a man died in my service, I should have been ashamed had he left so little."

(2) Many of Christina's verses occur in the *Endymion*.

his greatest, act was the famous constitution "*Inter multiplices*", which he drew up three days before his death, and in which he gives his decision against the various articles of the declaration made by the French clergy in 1682. Philippe de Coulanges, who was then at Rome, gives a minute account of the Consistory at which the Pope expressed his decision. He had taken for the text of his discourse:— "*deficient vires sed non deficit animus*"; twelve of the principal members of the Sacred College surrounded his bed; "he spoke with all the majesty of a great Pope, with the vigour of a young man, and the eloquence of a clever Venetian". (1)

Coulanges, after taking umbrage at the intrigues of the Conclave, was compelled to admire the ways of Providence in the ensuing election. In fact the Sacred College did not possess a more devout, unselfish, or nobler member, according to public opinion, than Antonio Pignatelli whose name was drawn from the chalice after the lapse of five months. When it was noticed that he assumed the name of INNOCENT XII, everyone rightly felt that he intended to walk in the steps of Innocent XI. One of his first acts was the promulgation of a severe Bull against excessive nepotism; a Bull which each succeeding Pope, before he ascended the throne, was to swear he would observe. Like Alexander VII, he claimed the poor as his relatives, and lavished the money upon them which formerly used to enrich a few pontifical families. Wherever a catastrophe, plague, or famine

(1) "*Mémoires*."

devastated the land, Innocent's wealth was expended; wherever Christendom was at war with the infidels, whether in Poland, or Venice, or on the shores of the Archipelago, reliance might be placed on his subsidies, or on his war-ships.

But it is chiefly at Rome that we must follow his reforms; several corrupt offices were swept away; legal proceedings were simplified by the suppression of a number of judicial offices which only hampered the course of justice and exhausted the means of litigants; while reductions were made in the salaries of the highest officials. The name of Innocent XII was respected and blessed; each day his kindness threw open some fresh asylum to the miserable; the pontifical palace of the Lateran was transformed into a hospital, and the vast establishment of S. Michele was enlarged and richly endowed for the reception of the sick and orphans of both sexes. Innocent was particularly fond of S. Michele; he would constantly visit it, and sit with the orphans, whom he loved to call his sons. Muratori says, "This memorable Pontiff was truly born for great deeds; forgetful of himself and his own, he had no other thought than for the public welfare." He granted privileges to, and constructed warehouses for, Civita-Vecchia, in order to attract commerce; he repaired aqueducts, or erected monuments worthy of the Apostolic See and Rome; he built a naval custom-house at Ripa Grande, and another inland behind the beautiful columns of the Antonine Basilica; he also completed the Curia Innocenziana, that vast palace at Monte-Citorio which Bernini had begun,

installing therein the various tribunals of Rome. Upon the façade of all these buildings was sculptured the divine figure of the Saviour, the blazon of the Hospital of S. Michele; a charitable purpose guiding the Pope in all these undertakings, and he wished that this hospital should receive the revenues of all these wealthy establishments.

If we turn to Monte-Citorio, to S. Maria-in-Trastevere (1), or to the courtyard of S. Michele, we shall find beautiful fountains rising everywhere at the Pope's command.

If Innocent XII era was propitious for the Roman States, it was not so for Europe; battles were being fought at Staffarde and Marsaille; the whole of Northern Italy was disaffected; but the Pope, a stranger to ambitious party struggles, laboured in the interests of peace, and sent relief to those countries ravaged by war. Taking advantage of the peace which prevailed in the Papal States, he created the seaport of Anzio; he also forbade lotteries, and suppressed luxury at Rome, as well as the mania for imitating foreign customs, which made her subservient to strangers.

Terrible disasters occurred during his reign; but they served to make his virtues more apparent. Rome was inundated by the Tiber and decimated by the plague; a terrible earthquake took place in the Papal States; Bagnoréa was destroyed; Celano, Orvieto, Toscanella and Acquapendente were dis-

(1) The ancient foundation at S. Maria-in-Trastevere, dating it is said from the time of Adrian I, had been destroyed.

mantled, Lake Bolsena overflowed the country for three miles, and half the population of Asolo were buried beneath the ruins. Innocent XII, during these calamities, appeared to be everywhere, and exhausted his treasury for the sufferers.

Innocent XII was firm and dignified in meeting the pretensions of the Imperial ambassador, Count Martinitz, who dared, in 1696, to interfere with the procession of Corpus Christi by his claims for precedence, acting as though Rome were under subjection to his master.

The name of Innocent XII recalls an event which produced a great sensation in France, the condemnation of twenty-three propositions drawn from Fénelon's work "*Maximes des Saints*". The Abbé Bossuet, nephew to the great Bishop of Meaux, had been at Rome for a considerable time, commissioned to oppose the quietist tendencies of the Archbishop of Cambrai. He was a hot-headed man who damaged a good cause by his impetuosity, while Fénelon reaped fresh glories even in his errors by the gentleness of his manner, and by the filial readiness of his submission.

Neither Fénelon nor Bossuet ever came to Rome; the unprincipled policy of Louis XIV placed obstacles in the way of those familiar relations between prelates and the Supreme Pontiff which had existed in the Middle Ages, and which have revived in our own day. Yet no soul was better formed for understanding Rome than he who exclaimed:— "Oh, Rome! holy city! oh, dear and common home of Christians! all are fellow-citizens of Rome, and every

Catholic is a Roman!" This was Fénelon's heartfelt cry of faith. Most likely Bossuet, who found such lofty expressions to praise the "Holy Roman Church, Mother of Churches, and Mother of all the faithful", who from the depths of his heart held to her unity, would have realized far better at Rome the truth of those beautiful words which he once pronounced on a great occasion:— "However learned, however holy, one may be, even as another S. Paul, it is necessary to see S. Peter." (1)

We have not forgotten the affluence of French pilgrims to Rome on the occasion of the Jubilee of 1600, "at which the Holy Father giving thanks to God," says Palma-Cayet, "wept abundant warm tears of joy". We find Richelieu at Rome in 1607; S. Vincent de Paul, in 1608; the Abbé Olier, in 1630; the Abbé, afterwards Cardinal, de Retz, in 1636 and 1653; Dom Mabillon, in 1685, and lastly Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, in 1698.

Richelieu was consecrated Bishop of Luçon at Rome. He had scarcely left the city when S. Vincent de Paul reached it from the barbarous lands where he had been in slavery, and where he had converted a renegade. He first presented himself with his new convert before the legate at Avignon, who gave them a public reception, "with tears and sobs". The legate even desired to accompany them to Rome, and so great was the consolation S. Vincent felt (to use his own words), when walking over the ground trodden

(1) Sermon on the Unity of the Church.

by so many great saints, that he was melted into tears. (1)

When Olier arrived in Rome in 1630 he was far from possessing this warm active piety. Although young, and more taken up with the world than the church, he intended to take orders, and was "only just beginning to be born to God, by slight desire and affection". His one object in going to Rome was to place himself under learned Hebrew instructors, in order that he might be able to sustain theses in that tongue as well as he could do in Greek. He set forth with the intention of "acquiring that science which puffs up"; but God awaited him to overthrow his vanity. In fact on arriving at Rome his eyes became so affected that study was impossible. Medical science having failed to cure him, Olier set out on foot for Loreto, where he arrived in a high fever, and barely able to drag himself along. He had scarcely entered the church when he felt so overcome by emotion that he burst into tears, his eyes were healed, and his pulse became as regular as if he had driven to Loreto. He said, "I then experienced a great desire to pray." This completed his conversion. (2)

After S. Vincent it becomes difficult to mention such a man as the Abbé de Gondi, the future co-adjutor of Paris, who arrived at Rome, young, gallant, haughty, with his cassock and his duels. It is need-

(1) Letter to M. de Commet.

(2) For these details consult "La vie de M. Olier", by M. l'Abbé Faillon, tom. I, pp. 23-27.

less to ask what impressions were made on his volatile character by the holy city, for he was wholly taken up with himself, this being in fact the chief occupation of his life. In order, however, "to gain a reputation at the ecclesiastical Court" of the Vatican, he was careful not to allow even a shadow of debauchery or gallantry to appear in his conduct. Retz, however, spent money freely; he displayed fine liveries, drove about in a well appointed carriage, and was accompanied by a suite of seven or eight gentlemen. Playing one day at "palle" in the Baths of Antoninus he refused to yield the match to the Imperial ambassador, which occasioned much astonishment. In the days of his disgrace Cardinal de Retz returned to Rome, where, although repulsed by the French Cardinals, he was received kindly by Innocent XII. In gratitude he always spoke of that Pope as being a great man whose genius was of no common order.

When the learned Benedictine, Mabillon, came to Rome in 1685, he was on a mission from Louis XIV to examine the great Italian collections and to buy books for the Royal Library. On his return to France his "*Iter Italicum*" and "*Musæum Italicum*" appeared. Mabillon's style is cold and scientific, becoming roused only when recalling the affinity between devotion and study.

Montfaucon likewise published a "*Diarium Italicum*" after his journey to Rome in 1698, in order to make researches for his great edition of the Greek Fathers. The fear lest he should weary his reader by descriptions made him confine himself to a few



original and interesting remarks written in a concise and scholarly manner. The deaths of Dom Étiennot (Stephanotius), who had welcomed him to Rome, and of Dom Brioy, his fellow-traveller, distressed him greatly.

Nor must Spon of Lyons, the author of "*Miscellanea eruditæ antiquitatis*", be forgotten. Though an ardent Protestant, he was fascinated by Rome. "That man must be of a most ungrateful nature," he wrote in 1674, "who fails to find full satisfaction there." He then enumerated the rare libraries; concerts at palaces; choirs in churches; the best ancient and modern paintings; buildings of all ages; bas-reliefs; inscriptions; decorations of all kinds; the beauty of the place itself, "worthy of being a part of Paradise". Nor does he forget Catholic Rome: "As for the man who seeks his pleasure in pious practices, he can find a treasury of churches, relics, and processions which might occupy him all his life."

Innocent XII died on the 27<sup>th</sup> of September 1700, during the Jubilee festivities which always attracted crowds to Rome. La Trinità alone gave shelter to 300,000 pilgrims. This great multitude accompanied the mournful funeral procession of this virtuous Pontiff to S. Peter's, where he had desired to be buried beneath a plain marble slab. It is much to be regretted that his last wishes were disregarded.

The grand and noble figure of Innocent XII closes the seventeenth century. Doubtless this epoch has left behind it less historical renown than the era which had preceded it; it claims no fiery genius

like Julius II or Sixtus V; the arts had lost the vigour they displayed under Leo X and Paul III; even Catholic piety had lost the energy it had displayed in the strife against Luther, in which SS. Gaetano, Ignatius, Charles, and Philip Neri had borne their share. We have entered into a period of calm, wherein the agitations of the Middle Ages have died away, and men, like inanimate objects, submit themselves to a level of uniform regularity. Society has grown weary, minds have lost their former activity, energy, and enthusiasm. We must not, however, ignore the happy influence exerted by the seventeenth century, in the cause of order, upon succeeding ages. The relations of European Powers to one another became more thoroughly defined, as well as their international organisation. The administration of Rome, as it existed in the reign of Pope Pius IX, dates from the reigns of Alexander VII, Innocent XI, and Innocent XII.

But, on the other hand, it was during this period that the Roman territory assumed that desolate aspect which it still wears. The city population increased, while that of the country dwindled away; fields remained uncultivated, and the malaria extended its ravages. Probably these changes may be attributed to the concentration of small properties in the hands of wealthy lords who neglected cultivation; small proprietors indeed preferred receiving an assured income from the Monti to possessing fields. Perhaps also the first cause of the evil may have been the destruction of forests, ordered by Gregory XIII, in order to extend the cultivation of wheat, and by

Sixtus V in order to destroy the fastnesses of robbers. Whatever it may have been, the climatic conditions of the plain around Rome, never of the best, became steadily worse, until nothing was to be seen except droves of wild horses and herds of buffalo in the vast desert strewn with ruins, which announced the approach to the eternal city.

We have spoken of the direction taken by the arts under Bernini, Sacchi, and Borromini; but reference must also be made to the wonderful progress made in mosaics. This development was chiefly due to Giovanni-Battista Calandra, who discovered the means of affixing the enamels in a cement stronger than any used before. Calandra also succeeded in giving a polish to his works, superior even to that obtained by varnishing pictures. In this respect he actually overshot the mark; for, it is related, when he was showing Urban VIII his "S. Michael" at S. Peter's, the Pope was so dazzled by the reflected light as to abandon his project of decorating each of the chapels with mosaics. But, after Calandra's time, the extremes into which he had fallen were avoided, and the first intention of Urban VIII was carried out. At the present day there are scarcely any paintings in S. Peter's except mosaics: those of the dome are anterior to Calandra, having been executed for Clement VIII; among the others are the celebrated copies of "S. Petronilla", the "Communion of S. Jerome", and the "Martyrdom of S. Erasmus", all belonging to the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. They are the work of the celebrated Cavaliere Christofari and his

pupils. Mosaic is more a work of patience than of art; but its brilliant colours do not fade like those placed upon canvas; time, which so quickly destroys the works of genius, is powerless against the stones of which it is composed, so that it well deserves a place in that august temple within which man has done his best to stamp his labours with the sublime characteristics of power and durability.

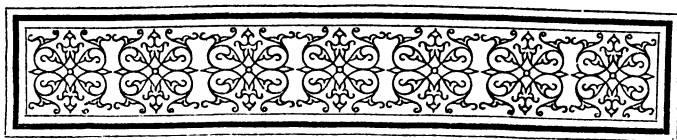
The religious foundations of the seventeenth century, though not on so magnificent a scale as those of former times, continued to bear evidence of the activity of Christian life. Five colleges at Rome date from this period; seven or eight refuges were opened for young girls and penitent women; elementary schools were started in every quarter of the city, and poorhouses of every description were erected, wherein the inmates were subjected to severe discipline, and accustomed to habits of foresight and work. In 1642 a Frenchwoman, Marie de Vignerod, Duchesse d'Aiguillon, founded a mission house for the good priests of S. Vincent de Paul on Monte-Citorio.

Innocent XII having, in 1694, expressed a wish that a certain pomp should attend the Holy Viaticum when carried to the dying, associations were at once formed in every parish; about 30,000 crowns were spent in a few days on purchasing canopies, banners, and gold and silver candlesticks, so that henceforth the Holy Viaticum never went forth unless accompanied by a devout crowd acting as its guard.

But the greatest glory of the seventeenth century is that it produced a succession of Pontiffs remarkable

for their eminent virtues. An inscription, which may yet be read in the new hall of the Hospital of the Saviour, near S. John Lateran, records that Clement IX, on coming one day to visit the sick, found a patient in his last agony; he never left his bedside, but gave him every religious consolation until he lay dead in his arms. This touching remembrance may be considered as one of the distinctive features in the character of the Pontiffs of this period, a character at once devout and modest, desirous of doing good without display, and bearing into all their deeds the spirit of divine charity.





## CHAPTER XXIII.

La prospérité de la religion est différente de celle des empires : les humiliations de l'Eglise, sa dispersion, la destruction de ses temples, les souffrances de ses martyrs, sont le temps de sa gloire ; et, lorsqu'aux yeux du monde elle paraît triompher, c'est le temps ordinaire de son abaissement.

*Montesquieu.*

## EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

**T**HE more society advanced, and the further it receded from the ages of faith and divine enthusiasm, the more it lost that magical grandeur which casts the glamour of poetry over the lives of nations. The arts grew weak, imagination was played out, as though it had grown weary of divine inspiration ; a kind of glacial coldness had seized upon humanity. But even under these conditions the history of the Church presents a *new* form of interest ; one beholds its *ancient teaching* warring against the thousand incoherent systems of the new philosophy, and its strong spirit of conviction dominating doubt and indifference, even as ancient monuments cast their shadow over our modern buildings. The eighteenth century was the era of pretended

moral discoveries; it believed it had created all things because it had forgotten everything, even to the great charitable works previously accomplished by the Church.

Giovanni Francesco Albani, who took the name of CLEMENT XI, ascended S. Peter's throne after three days' modest and dignified resistance. He was only fifty-one years of age; but his knowledge, virtues, aptitude for business, and amiability of disposition outweighed his comparative youth. Clement was devout, constant in mind, and upright in action; he favoured learning and art, and welcomed to his court men distinguished in either; Rome is indebted to him for Christofari's beautiful mosaics; for manufactories of fine-warp tapestries which rivalled those of Flanders; for the ecclesiastical academy near La Minerva, and for the enlargement of the fine hospital of S. Michele at Ripa Grande.

In 1703, Clement also built a reformatory for the young, at S. Michele, in which were sixty small cells opening into a common hall, in the middle of which stood an altar for the celebration of Mass. The methods of reformation, adopted by the Pontiff, were isolation, silence, daily instruction, and regular work, the rules of the establishment having been drafted, according to M. Cerfbeer, by the Pope's own hand.

Muratori reckons the sums spent by Clement XI in charity at 200,000 crowns (£ 43,000). His example was not without results: the Brothers of the Christian Schools of Blessed Jean Baptiste de La Salle came from France and opened their classes near the Piazza Barberini; a new penitentiary for women was built on the Janiculum under the name of S. Maria-del-

Rifugio; and the Convent of La Minerva was enriched by a magnificent library, the gift of Cardinal Casanata, a Dominican. Clement XI recalled the Popes of earlier ages by the ardour of his faith and speech. On great festival days he delivered homilies in the Vatican Basilica as S. Leo and S. Gregory the Great had formerly done. (1) He entered with all his heart into the war against the Turks, which resulted in the battle of Peterwardein; he crushed down reviving Jansenism, and sent money and corn to the unfortunate inhabitants of Marseilles during the cruel plague of 1720, which witnessed the heroic devotedness of Belzunce.

Although he held himself aloof from the strife of parties, he was unable to avoid being involved in them altogether, and on two occasions the results of the Spanish War of Succession were felt at the very gates of Rome. An ambassador said to him one day, "The King, my master, has long arms". The Pope replied, "God's arms are still longer and we fear His justice". Clement died on the 19<sup>th</sup> of March 1721, respected by the whole of Europe. One characteristic act shows the nobility of his feelings. He exiled his brother's wife from Rome, for the simple reason that she prided herself too much on her title of sister-in-law to the Pope. Muratori remarks that the Albani family received more benefits

(1) The celebrated poet Alessandro Guidi translated these Latin homilies into Italian. One day, going to Castel-Gandolfo to present the Pope with a copy of his work, he observed a printer's error in the text, which so distressed him that he was struck with apoplexy and died.



from his successors than they did from the Pope himself. (1) He spent no more than 15 bajocchi (about eight pence) a day upon his own table.

The reign of INNOCENT XIII, a member of the Conti family which had already produced Innocent III and Gregory IX, lasted only three years. His distinctive qualities were great humility as a private individual, and great magnificence in his pontifical functions. Among the monuments which date from his reign we only need mention the Ospizio di S. Luigi Gonzaga for homeless women, and the superb stone ascent of the Trinità di Monte, executed by Alessandro Specchi, at the cost of Étienne Gueffier a former secretary at the French Embassy at Rome. This grand work gave quite a new aspect to the noble church of La Trinità, to which memories of Charles VIII and S. François de Paule are attached. Formerly its graceful façade had crowned an abrupt and naked hill. (2)

Innocent XIII successor was an Orsini, an austere monk, who sought retirement and solitude with as much ambition as many of his ancestors had sought for power and renown. He heard with affright the sentence which condemned him to the throne; but

(1) It was full thirty years after the death of Clement XI that Cardinal Alessandro Albani constructed that splendid villa on the Salarian way which is one of the handsomest outside Rome.

(2) A walk planted with trees starting from the Barcaccia and running towards the palace of the Grand-Duke, now the Academy of France, was the only communication between La Trinità and the Piazza di Spagna.

the General of the Dominicans was summoned, and Orsini, who had been deaf to the voices of the Cardinals, yielded to that spirit of obedience due to the Superior of his Order. BENEDICT XIII, for such was the title he took, remained a monk upon the throne. He still wished he might walk alone through the streets with his rosary, as he had done when simply Frate Vincenzo-Maria. All the pomp which surrounded power greatly wounded his humility, and he speedily suppressed part of it. His own room at the Vatican was only furnished with cane chairs; a few engravings and a crucifix hung upon the walls. He loved to go to La Minerva, his old monastery, in order to sing the Hours in the choir, and dine afterwards, as a simple friar, in the refectory. (1)

Clement XI had introduced the penitentiary system into Rome, and Benedict XIII introduced the mutual instruction system, a century before its brilliant discovery in our own time. It is remarkable what great attention was given to teaching Christian doctrine in the acts of the Council of Rome in 1725, at the suggestion of the Pontiff. On every festival day two children, chosen from among the most exact and devout, went through the streets of every parish

(1) Benedict went, in the spring and autumn of each year, for a few days' retreat to S. Sisto, in the rooms above the hall in which S. Dominic resuscitated young Napoleon, an ancestor of this pious Pontiff (*Vie de Fra Angelico*, by M. Cartier, p. 153). Benedict XIII published two volumes of Homilies on Exodus. From his reign date the hospital of S. Gallicano and the enlargement of the Pazzzeria, or lunatic Asylum.

ringing a bell and crying:— "Fathers and Mothers, send your children to Christian Doctrine, unless you wish to incur the wrath of God." Then followed two grown-up persons, who collected the children and led them off to school. This charitable duty was often performed by persons of the highest social rank. The children were then divided into tens in semi-circles around the teacher, who was often a child from a more advanced class. The lesson lasted half an hour, and then the children cross-questioned one another under the supervision of their master.

In order thoroughly to know Benedict XIII, he should be studied less at Rome than at Benevento, where he had been much respected for thirty-eight years. His affection for the Beneventines attracted a number of them to Rome, and some of them grievously disappointed his confidence by their corrupt practices in the most august offices, and by introducing bribery into the courts of justice. On Benedict XIII death these men, at the head of whom was Cardinal Coscia, were unable to escape public vengeance.

CLEMENT XII, who succeeded Benedict, was only elected after an interregnum of four months. He belonged to the noble Florentine family Corsini, which in the fourteenth century had produced S. Andrea Corsini, Bishop of Fiesole. Clement was sixty-nine years of age and a man of vigorous mind, well versed in affairs. He reduced taxation, and displayed strength and dignity in all his actions, whether in defending himself from the enmity of Spain, which arose from ill-treatment of Spanish recruiters

by the Trasteverines, or by restoring the privileges of the Republic of San Marino, which had been taken away by Cardinal Alberoni, who desired to incorporate the Republic with the States of the Church.

Rome, during his reign, maintained her traditional influence on the intellectual movement. Clement XI had enriched the Vatican with the Oriental manuscripts of Abraham Ecchellensis and of Pietro della Valle, which included works in Coptic, Ethiopian, and Arabic, and with the private library of Pius II. Clement XII followed in his steps: new literary treasures were collected in the East by the two learned Assemani; a museum of antiquities was established in the Capitol, the nucleus of which consisted of the rich Albani collection, for which the Pope paid 66,000 crowns. He also enlarged the Hospital of La Trinità-dei-Pellegrini; he encouraged the development of the Congregation of La Divina Pietà for the succour of the respectable poor in their own homes, and assisted his almoner, Aldini, in opening a new refuge for orphans under the patronage of SS. Clement and Crescentius. Ancona and Ravenna also experienced the Pope's liberality; and, if the buildings at Rome of this period have added little to the grandeur of the city, the blame attaches less to the Sovereign Pontiff, who was very generous towards artists, than to the daily decadence of art.

The best known architects of the period, Galilei, Fuga, and Salvi, endeavoured to supplement by excessive ornamentation and theatrical effect that grandeur of style the secret of which they had lost.

Nevertheless Galilei's façade of S. John Lateran is not devoid of magnificence; Fuga gained great credit by the palace of the Consulta at Monte-Cavallo and by the Palazzo Corsini alla Lungara; while the Fontana di Trevi, Salvi's masterpiece, was considered a marvel. (1) The effect produced by the Fontana di Trevi is undoubtedly thrilling, and its happy combination as a whole makes the spectator forget the bad taste of its composition. Vanvitelli also built the Monastery of S. Augustine at Rome, and the Lazzeretto and fortifications of Ancona.

During the last years of his life the aged Clement never left his bed; he was nearly blind, but his mind remained clear to the last. His body was placed according to his wishes in the chapel constructed by Galilei, under the invocation of S. Andrea Corsini, in S. John Lateran (2), and the Romans erected a statue to him at the Capitol.

BENEDICT XIV, who succeeded him after a Conclave which lasted six months, bore a distinctive character among all these noble Pontiffs, possessing at once the qualities of the student and of the man of the world.

(1) This fountain replaced one with three jets which had been constructed in the fifteenth century by the great Alberti.

(2) The tomb of Clement XII is formed from an antique urn which had been found beneath the Pantheon portico. Above the monument rises the statue of the pontiff between two porphyry columns. The Chapel of S. Andrea Corsini is one of the most beautiful in Rome: the mosaic of the altar, the bas-relief, representing the saint protecting the Florentine army at the battle of Anghiari, and Bernini's "Pietà", in the sepulchral vault, deserve special notice.

His merry humour, lively wit, and kindness of manner had obtained for him a reputation for good nature, without in the slightest degree affecting his dignity. His life was pure, his zeal for duty, whether as a prelate at Rome or as Archbishop at Bologna, had always attracted attention; while he was profoundly versed in theology, canon law, and ecclesiastical history. On withdrawing from one of those brilliant discussions in which he shone without a rival, he would retire to his library and study learned works with the patience of a recluse. One day he laughingly remarked, "You have a Pope who is great on paper, but small upon the throne; we altogether lack the papal physiognomy, but shall beseech the sculptors and painters to supply us with it".

This fund of wit and urbanity acquired greater charm from his simple and unpretentious manner. Lambertini never was known to solicit any official post, however small; and when he was on the throne he was always distinguished for his moderation, justice, and love of peace. He had little liking for affairs of State; but he knew how to select able ministers who caused his name to be blessed throughout Rome. He preferred to occupy himself by encouraging intellectual pursuits, directing religious matters, and above all education, ever one of the most important of ecclesiastical concerns. He was also fond of doing the honours of the Eternal City to strangers, who, touched at first by his kindness, were finally conquered by the irresistible charm of his conversation. According to the saying of Botta

no one was able to escape his influence; "Benedetto conquistava il mondo".

One of the first acts of Benedict XIV was to command his nephew, Egano di Lambertini, not to come to Rome without a summons, which, adds Muratori, he always forgot to send. He founded four academies at Rome; enriched the Vatican with Cardinal Ottoni's fine collection of manuscripts and medals, with the Capponi Library, and the Vettori Museum, which chiefly consisted of Christian antiquities — relics from the Catacombs, glass and mother-of-pearl chalices, spoons and Eucharistic reeds, diptycha in wood and ivory, and instruments of torture, such as crosses, pincers, saws and iron combs, stained with the blood of martyrs. Thus Christian and Pagan Rome are brought together for the instruction of all ages.

Under the careful administration of Benedict XIV the papal income and expenditure were balanced, and the Pontiff was enabled to devote large sums towards carrying out several magnificent and useful undertakings. A new wing was added to the S. Spirito Hospital, and its walls were decorated with paintings representing the cures wrought by the Saviour; that of S. Gallicano was made capable of receiving a greater number of patients; four dormitories were added to the Foundling Hospital near the Tiber, and S. Spirito was presented with an anatomical collection and an amphitheatre. The ancient church of S. Croce-in-Gerusalemme was rebuilt, and a large avenue made between it and S. John-Lateran; the solar obelisk was unearthed from the field of Mars; the churches of S. Apollinaris, S. Martino-dei-Monti, and S. Maria-

degli-Angeli were restored and beautified; the curious and ancient mosaics of the Triclinium of Leo III were brought to light and placed in a tribune behind the Santa Scala. S. Maria-Maggiore was also decorated with a façade, wherein the genius of Fuga is unhappily displayed, and a sumptuous baldacchino supported above the High Altar by magnificent porphyry columns.

At this period Rome presented a magnificent example of art, science, learning, and charity; yet at no period of her existence was she more bitterly attacked. Then was formed a conspiracy of rival interests, which only fought the church in order to carry on a still more bitter war against the whole social order later on.

The secret intention of this conspiracy was first to destroy the Society of Jesus, then the Church, and with the Church the State, which must have fallen by the same blow. Voltaire wrote, "All that I behold is sowing the seeds of a revolution which must inevitably come, and which I shall not have the pleasure of witnessing . . . Gradually the light has spread so much that the outburst must come at the first opportunity, and then there will be a pretty uproar. The young are lucky, they will see fine sights." (1) This infernal prophecy only left out the terrible vengeance God was to exact.

Meanwhile, however, politicians were complacently clearing the way for this threatened revolution. Is it necessary to recall, in the wake of Choiseul, Pombal at Lisbon, Tannuci at Naples; all narrow-minded,

(1) Letter to the Marquis de Chauvelin, 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1764.



obstinate, men, who, because they were urged forward by flattery, considered themselves leaders. They came to believe they were inaugurating the reign of liberty by proscription, and the era of progress by contempt for every right.

It is not, however, surprising that the first attack was delivered against the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits, all-powerful through the perfection of their teaching and by the number of their schools, trained up successive generations in profound respect for Rome, and in ideas which may fairly be called "humanitarian", in the sense that they subordinated frontier interests to those of mankind. Naturally, in the eyes of a narrow and prejudiced patriotism, this system appeared criminal. The Jesuits were accused of cosmopolitanism everywhere; of being the militia of a foreign power: the crimes of some of their members were made use of and exaggerated; in a few years they were placed under the ban of Europe. Some men even hoped that Benedict XIV would modify, if he did not even abolish, the Order of S. Ignatius. Herein they greatly erred as to the character of the Pope, mistaking his gentleness for weakness. Moreover Benedict XIV deeply loved the Company of Jesus. In one of his Bulls (1748) we read:— "We recall with love that in our youth we were associated with the Congregation of Mary, formed in the professed house of the Gesù at Rome, and followed its pious and useful practices. Judging therefore that it is within the duty of our pastoral functions to favour and to promote such institutions, thanks to which virtue daily advances and souls are

saved, we approve, confirm, and augment all the concessions and favours granted by our predecessors to the children of S. Ignatius."

Meanwhile the philosophers tried to get round the Pope. Voltaire sent him a couplet for his portrait. (1) He also wrote to him in this strain:—"The Sovereign Pontiffs have ever among monarchs been distinguished as patrons of learning; but none has known, so well as Your Holiness, how to adorn the deepest teaching with the charms of the most beautiful literature:

*Agnosco rerum dominos gentemque togatam."*

At the same time and with the same pen this philosopher coarsely satirized the Pope, when writing to the Marquis d'Argenson (2), and thus proved his hypocrisy.

But Benedict XIV was not a man to be worsted in witticism any more than he was liable to be deceived; when he wrote to Voltaire he did so with such ability and ease that, even in Botta's opinion, he did not come off second best.

Benedict died on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May 1758, and was worthily replaced by Carlo Rezzonico who took the name of CLEMENT XIII. He was a man of angelic piety and sweetness; Duclos, the philosopher, could only reproach him with not having been sufficiently "devoted to business, for he had not dared to foresee that one day he was to ascend the throne". It is

(1) "Lambertinus hic est, Romæ decus et pater orbis,  
Qui scriptis mundum docuit, virtutibus ornat."

(2) Letter dated 10<sup>th</sup> of August 1745. "My lord, I have just received the portrait of that most chub-cheeked holy Father..."

a question, however, whether this is not rather praise than blame. Gentle and amiable though he was, he still showed plenty of energy when the interests of the Church were at stake. At this time the Encyclopedists' spirit of reform was passing from France into Italy. This spirit dealt with no smaller matter than the complete reform of the relations between the spiritual and temporal systems of society, with the object of definitely subjecting the former to the latter. Clement XIII resisted this inroad of evil with all his might, and was answered by force of arms; Avignon being seized on one side and Benevento on the other, the Pontiff nevertheless remained unshaken. He also refused to suppress the Society of Jesus, notwithstanding his easy disposition.

Far from yielding to threats he answered with renewed energy. Thus one day he replied in the following terms to a haughty ambassador:— "The Vicar of Christ is treated as the meanest of men; he has neither armies nor cannon, and it is easy therefore to deprive him of everything; but no human power can make him act against his conscience." (1) When, moreover, the Parliament of Paris condemned the Jesuits, he proclaimed to the world that piety and holiness had never ceased to exist in the highest degree among the Company of Jesus. (2)

Canova's tomb of Clement XIII is one of the handsomest ornaments in the Vatican Basilica. The

(1) "Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus", by Crétineau-Joly, tom. V, p. 312.

(2) See the Bull "Apostolicam".

Pontiff is represented kneeling in prayer with two lions near him, one asleep, to symbolize his gentleness, the other roaring, to express his dauntless courage which yielded neither to armies nor cannon.

Lorenzo Ganganelli, who succeeded Clement XIII in 1769, and who assumed the name of CLEMENT XIV, allowed himself to be guided by different views, namely, the necessity for peace and union in Christendom. He was modest and kindly, of a somewhat lively humour, yet sincerely pious. Devoted to the Church from his heart, he thought it better for her that she should be reconciled with the Sovereigns than that he should continue to protect a Society whose action was always met by the fiercest opposition. Such were the considerations which induced him, after a four years' struggle, to suppress the Society of Jesus. This struggle had been so severe that the unfortunate Pontiff was one day heard to exclaim to an ambassador, who promised to restore Avignon and Benevento as the price of his compliance:—"Learn that a Pope governs souls, and does not traffic in them." (1)

Meanwhile, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of July 1773, at the moment the bells of the Gesù were announcing the beginning of the Novena in honour of S. Ignatius, the Pope on hearing them sadly bowed down his head, remarking:—"They are not ringing for the saints, but for the dead". (2) In fact, on that very day,

(1) "Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus", by Crétineau-Joly, tom. V, p. 351.

(2) Idem.

the suppression of the Jesuits was signed to the great joy of all freethinkers. Up to the last moment they could scarcely believe it: d'Alembert, writing to the King of Prussia, says, "It is announced that the Cordelier Pope takes a great deal of urging in the matter of abolishing the Jesuits; nor am I surprised at this: proposing to a Pope the destruction of this fine militia is like proposing to your Majesty that you should disband your regiment of Guards". Then, when it was an accomplished fact, his joy knew no bounds, he thus writes to Frederick: "Everything appears rose-coloured to me now: I see the Jansenists dying a glorious death next year, after having destroyed the Jesuits this year by a violent death; I see tolerance established, Protestants recalled, priests married, confession abolished, and fanaticism quietly crushed". (1)

Clement XIV did not long survive this act imposed upon him by a pitiless policy, and men were even found who accused the Jesuits of his death. A Protestant Prince, Frederick II, undertook their defence. He wrote:— "The Pope's body has been opened, and not a trace of poison discovered in him. But he reproached himself with his weakness in sacrificing such an Order as the Jesuits to the whim of his rebellious children. He has been somewhat fretful and abrupt during the last period of his life, and this has contributed to shorten his days". (2)

(1) 7<sup>th</sup> of August 1769.

(2) Letter to d'Alembert.

The death of Clement XIV occurred on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September 1774. At this period Alphonsus Liguori, a man who was most distinguished in the Church for his learning and holiness, was Bishop of S. Agatha in the kingdom of Naples. The suppression of the Jesuits and consequent dejection of Clement XIV, who since that event had remained isolated and weighed down with grief, greatly preoccupied him. On the morning of the 21<sup>st</sup> of September, after having said Mass, the holy Bishop fell into a trance and for twenty-four hours remained in his chair motionless. Next day when he recovered, he said to his astonished attendants, "You did not know that I have been assisting the Pope who has just died". Soon afterwards the news of Clement's death reached S. Agatha. (1)

S. Alphonsus Liguori had instituted a congregation of missionaries, under the name of the Holy Redeemer, whose mission was to be like that of our Lord and his Apostles, namely, constant preaching through towns and country, in the simple manner of Jesus, "who possessed", said the saint, "more rhetoric than we have".

Thus the vigour of Christianity continued to flourish despite every effort of philosophy to destroy it. It had already produced, during the eighteenth century, S. John of the Cross, in Spain; Blessed Angelo d'Acqui, Crispino di Viterbo, and Leonardo di Porto-Maurizio, in Italy; Blessed Benedict Labre and the pious family which surrounded Louis XV,

(1) "Histoire de l'Église", by Rohrbacher, t. XXVII, p. 29.

in France, where the glorious martyrs of the Revolution were soon to flourish.

Two of these names are connected in a very close manner with the history of Christian Rome; namely, Leonardo di Porto-Maurizio and Benedict Labre.

Paolo Girolamo di Casa Nuova, born at Porto-Maurizio near Genoa, came to Rome at the age of twelve, and was educated at the Roman College; joining the Congregation of Padre Caravita, then consisting of twelve members, he collected idlers in the streets and taught them the catechism, as the followers of Abbé Olier were doing in Paris. Later on, Paolo di Casa Nuova joined the Minor Observantines of S. Bonaventure on the Palatine, where he took vows under the name of Leonardo di Porto-Maurizio. Henceforth he devoted himself to missionary work after the manner of S. Alphonsus Liguori. He successively evangelized Liguria, Tuscany, and Corsica, preaching especially in Rome and the Roman States. His principal devotion was to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Under this name he founded several confraternities, one of which met at the church of S. Teodoro in Rome. When preaching he dwelt largely on the Saviour's Passion, and greatly promoted the devotion of the Way of the Cross, establishing one of these Stations in Vespasian's amphitheatre, where the blood of so many martyrs had been shed. This sacred monument had been by turns a fortress and a quarry, when, at the suggestion of Leonardo, Benedict XIV saved it from further destruction by making it a place of prayer.

Leonardo died, at the monastery of S. Bonaventure, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of November 1751, at the age of ninety-five. His body remains intact beneath the altar; near it is a scourge still tinged with his blood, while in a receptacle close by are preserved the crucifix and image of the Virgin which he used to carry about with him when preaching.

Thus did Christian Apostleship maintain its energy in spite of the spirit of disbelief, and Rome beheld, amid the surging flood of materialism, examples of sublime poverty.

Benedict Labre was the most eminent of these heroic poor, who, to the end, protested against the encroachments of materialistic life. Born in 1748 in France, within the diocese of Boulogne, at the age of twenty-two he travelled on foot to Rome with no other resources than the alms he received by the way. Once in the Holy City he never left it, except to make pilgrimages, more especially to Loreto which he visited once a year. When Benedict Labre died, on Holy Wednesday 1783, so great was his reputation for sanctity that a vast crowd surrounded his coffin until Easter Sunday, the date of his funeral. His limbs then still retained their flexibility, and several miracles were wrought by his intercession. (1)

The rumour of these miracles came to the ears of a Presbyterian minister, a citizen of the United States, which had just been formed into the great American Republic. Mr. Thayer, for such was his

(1) Benedict Labre's memory particularly attaches itself to the church of S. Maria-dei-Monti, where he used to spend days in prayer.



name, had come to Rome in search of weapons to use against the Church; but he was greatly impressed by seeing the Pantheon turned into a temple to the Virgin, the Cross rising above the ruins of idols, the city itself, once the capital of the pagan world now the capital of Christianity, "become a living and ever subsisting witness to the triumph of Jesus Christ over armed force".

Hearing of the miracles worked at the tomb of Benedict Labre, Mr. Thayer turned the new saint and his miracles into ridicule. However, he questioned the witnesses and men of science, who were very slow to admit themselves beaten, but their replies greatly disturbed him. Some time afterwards Mr. Thayer became a Catholic priest and returned as a missionary to his own country.

Science continued to flourish. Two of the Vatican Librarians, Quirini and Passionei, had been raised to the purple during the first half of the eighteenth century, and had distinguished themselves, not only by their extensive and deep learning, but also by the assistance they had rendered to learned men throughout Europe. Quirini possessed a collection of medals which he showed to his brother-Cardinals during the Conclave of 1740. They valued it at one hundred and eighty thousand francs. "If that be so," said Quirini, "it does not become me to retain such a treasure in the midst of great poverty," and he presented the collection to the Vatican Library.

Among other distinguished men about this period were Cardinal Archinto, whose family was distinguished for learned men and antiquarians; Fathers Tiraboschi

and Zaccaria, who cast fresh lustre over the Society of Jesus by their histories of Italian literature; the Abbé Muratori, who undertook unaided the immense labour of investigating documents and publications for the history of his country, as the Benedictines of S. Mauro had undertaken for that of France; Cardinal Orsi, who wrote a history of the Church, and dealt radically with the questions which had been raised by the celebrated declaration of the French clergy in 1682, Fathers Jacquier and Leseur, of the Order of Minims, the Abbés Spallanzani and Volta, and Cardinal Gerdil.

The arts alone displayed a falling off, despite the encouragement they never ceased to find at Rome, as was now seen in the foundation of the Clementine Museum at the Vatican. Begun by Clement XIII, to receive the masterpieces of all the arts of every age, it was continued by Clement XIV, and completed by Pius VI.

Thus Clement XIV, in spite of the disturbances and trials of his pontificate, was able to add a few stones to the artistic and monumental structure of the papacy. He was, indeed, a lover of art and letters, the peaceful exercise of which well suited his gentle character. He might often be seen in friendly conversation with Raphael Mengs and Winkelmann; it was also during his reign that Corilla Olimpica was crowned at the Capitol.

Mengs was a Bohemian, but, like Winkelmann, he spent most of his life at Rome, where from an early age he gained public renown. By Italians he was called the "Third Raphael"; by Germans, "The

Raphael of Germany", and, when he died in 1779, the King of Spain adopted his seven children, for the great wealth earned by the artist had been squandered in profuse generosity.

Winkelmann had attained celebrity not only as an antiquarian but also as a great and powerful writer. With him archæology had ceased to be an abstruse science; it had become clothed with all the form, colour, and glamour of poetry.

Winkelmann was born in Brandenburg, Zoega in Denmark; both renounced their native land to become Roman citizens, and both abjured Protestantism for the Catholic Faith. Winkelmann was appointed president of Roman antiquities, and Zoega was deputed by Pius VI to decipher hieroglyphics on the obelisks at Rome. Winkelmann produced his "History of Art", and Zoega his "Use and Origin of Obelisks".

In the eighteenth century Italian literature unexpectedly revived; the foundation of the Academy of Arcadia had been appreciated, and Guidi's beautiful ode:—

"O noi d'Arcadia fortunata gente . . . . ."

long rang out as a song of triumph.

The Arcadians met at Gravina's house on the Janiculum, and, forsaking their own names, adopted fancy titles; posing as Arcadian Shepherds they wandered about the grassy slopes overhanging the Tiber, discussing morality and poetry.

Among the followers of Gravina was a youth named Trapassi, a grocer's son, who had gained some

renown by reciting verses of his own composition on the Piazza Vallicella. The Arcadians transformed his name into Metastasio. Gravina left him all his fortune, some 15,000 crowns, and the youth was received everywhere with enthusiasm on account of his poetic gift.

At the age of twenty-three he set out for Naples, returning to Rome six years later at the height of his fame, accompanied by the celebrated singer Marianna Benti Bulgarini, called the beautiful Romanina, who sang his poems set to music by Sarro or da Vinci. But Metastasio soon wearied of Rome, where criticism began to depreciate his works, and where his private life was censured; besides which his self-esteem had increased with his success, and the "divino Metastasio", as he was called by the populace, could no longer endure the humble home where the Romanina, fresh from the stage, put off the attributes of Semiramis in order to prepare his evening meal. Moreover, the Emperor summoned him to Vienna, whither he went, in 1730, without regret, and without intention of returning. Fifty-two years later, in March 1782, Metastasio, who had long repented of the indiscretions of his youth, lay dying in the German capital, when the venerable Pope Pius VI came there to meet Joseph II. Hearing of the poet's condition the Pope went himself to bear him the last consolations of religion, and granted him the indulgence "in articulo mortis".

Being of a refined, gentle, and melancholy disposition, Metastasio often selected religious subjects as the theme for his Muse; and, when death drew near,

he poured forth his soul in those beautiful lines of repentance and hope beginning:—

“Pur troppo è ver che reo . . . .” (1)

Botta has remarked, “When one reads Metastasio one quaffs Attic grace, Latin majesty, and Italian taste out of a full and untainted cup.”

Only a few years had elapsed since the death of Metastasio when rumours of another prodigy spread throughout Italy. The subject was a young girl, Maria Maddalena Morelli by name, who improvised in the drawing-rooms of Pistoja. The Arcadians admitted her to their meetings under the name of Corilla Olimpica, and, a few years later, she received an ovation at the Capitol. It was doubtless this ovation which gave Mde. de Staël her first idea of “Corinne”.

In the church of S. Maria del' Umiltà at Pistoja the laurel crown which had been placed on the brows of Corilla Olimpica at the Capitol may still be seen. The damsel placed it there herself as an offering to the Virgin.

Such was the condition of literature on the accession of Pius VI, whose reign cast a last ray of glory on this brilliant period. The spirit of poetry breathed throughout Italy. Goldoni's new pieces were received with applause in the theatres of Milan and Venice; Cesarotti sang Morven's verses on the Laguna; fairies reappeared in Gozzi's fantastic comedies, and at the sound of the Abbé Bettinelli's voice one might

(1) There is a very interesting chapter on Metastasio in Sig. Tullio Dandolo's “Italia nel secolo passato”, pp. 149—187.

have imagined that Virgil himself was standing beneath the willows of Mantua. Rome received a great intellectual impetus, and the "Quinquennales" of Pius VI were celebrated on the Palatine. In 1780, when the supposed tomb of the Scipios was discovered on the Appian way, all Rome went wild with excitement, and Count Verri profited by the opportunity, and took up his pen to honour the heroes of ancient days in the gloomy vaults of this sepulchral dwelling. (1)

Alfieri, Monti, Visconti, the Cardinals Borgia and Gerdil, and the indefatigable biographer Serassi occasionally met at Rome. Gerdil, a native of Savoy, had profoundly studied theology, Holy Writ, physics, mathematics, philosophy, history, and ancient and modern languages. In a Barnabite monastery he had sought God, not men, in his studies. But the eyes of the Sovereign Pontiffs were upon him: Benedict XIV advised the King of Sardinia to make him tutor to his son; and Clement XIV gave him a Cardinal's hat, accompanying the gift with the graceful compliment:— "Notus orbi, vix notus urbi". Amid the greatness of his new position, the learned monk retained his love of retirement and simple ways. Nevertheless, though the halls of Cardinal de Bernis or the Caballero d'Azara, the Spanish ambassador, might be crowded with brilliant throngs; learned men, scientists, and antiquarians sought the humble dwelling of Cardinal Gerdil.

(1) In the "*Noctes Romanæ*".

Modern music was so to say born at Rome, commencing with the magnificent Gregorian Chant. Palestrina had succeeded, in the sixteenth century, in engrafting a religious character on music, which was only thoroughly understood at Rome. In the eighteenth century music soared higher, and, even now, artists go to that city for instruction. Unfortunately theatrical influence daily widens the distance between melody and the plain harmony of S. Gregory. And yet, how beautiful are the *Stabat Mater* of Pergolese, the *Passione* of Paesiello, the *Psalms* of Marcello, the *Requiem* of Mozart and the *Oratorios* of Haydn!

We may remember that Palestrina wrote at the head of his *Mass* of S. Marcellus:— "Oh, my God, enlighten me!" Following his example, Haydn began each of his scores with the words:— "In nomine Domini", and ended them with "Laus Deo". Fearing to fall into pride, each morning Paesiello added this short entreaty to his prayers; "Holy Virgin, obtain for me the power to forget that I am a musician!"

Mozart, the illustrious author of the *Requiem*, came to Rome in 1770, when fourteen years of age. All the world knows how, after hearing Allegri's *Miserere* in the Sistine Chapel, he wrote from memory that famous score, which was never removed from the chapel and which no one was allowed to copy. Like all other pilgrims, Mozart wished to kiss the foot of S. Peter's statue. But in a letter to his mother, proudly dated from "Roma caput mundi", he said, "Being unfortunately too small I had to be lifted up as of old".

Rome was enthusiastic about his music, which Corilla called:—

“*Quella dolce armonia di paradiso*”, and which the Cantata for Christ's Tomb, the Stabat Mater, a Mass for four voices, and many sonatas henceforth stamped with renown. Clement XIV made Mozart a Knight of the Golden Spur, a fitting honour for the wonderful child, who, as he tells us himself, “always had God before his eyes”, and who, although fêted and courted, humbly made a pilgrimage to Loreto with his father.

Sixteen years after this the author of Faust came to Rome. Owing to the poetic preference he had for the ceremonies of our worship, and the effective use he has made of them upon the stage, Goethe has been suspected of Catholic tendencies. But his faith never went further than poetry. According to one of his own admirers, Goethe's religion “was the worship of his own genius”.

Neither Goethe nor Mozart stayed long in the Holy City. Not so d'Agincourt, who, coming to Rome as a bird of passage, remained there all his life.

President de Brosses, President Dupaty, and the astronomer Lalande visited Italy between 1740 and 1790, and they have left an account of their travels. Unfortunately their writings abound with levity, mockery, sham philosophy in the style of Gibbon, who scoffed at priests, monks, and Church, admiring nothing at Rome but its art and its ruins.

Christian art, neglected and despised ever since the Renaissance, revived again towards the end of the eighteenth century. Among others, d'Agincourt



renewed the excavations of Bosio, and was for thirty-two years the untiring explorer of the Catacombs.

It was only at Rome that so many eminent personages from every clime could be met; all Europe hastened to see and hear Alfieri, Visconti, Canova, de Bernis, Monti, and Angelica Kauffmann. Angelica's studio was visited by every traveller to Rome, and the story of her life, her trials, her modesty, her blighted affection, her despair and misfortunes, enhanced the admiration felt for her and her works.

Canova's first great work at Rome was the tomb of Clement XIV at SS. Apostoli when he was twenty-five years old. His second was the tomb of Clement XIII, at S. Peter's, with its celebrated lions. This monument was unveiled on Holy Wednesday of the year 1795, before an enormous congregation gathered together for the services of Holy Week, while the great cross of fire lit up the Basilica. Their admiration was so unbounded that the young artist was compared to Michael Angelo and Sansovino.

At the head of Rome's brilliant society stood Angelo Braschi, revered throughout the world under the name of Pius VI. One of the first enterprises of this great Pontiff was the draining of the Pontine Marshes, a gigantic work which had been attempted by the Censor Appius Claudius, the Emperor Augustus, and Popes Boniface VIII, Martin V, Leo X, and Sixtus V. In order to encourage the workmen, Pius VI went himself to these pestilential regions, where roads were made, hotels and barracks built, canals

repaired or excavated, and vast tracts of country restored to cultivation. (1) At Ancona, the harbour was restored at great expense and a lighthouse erected at its entrance; near Lake Bolsena, a village was built in a healthy situation for the inhabitants of a neighbouring village which was a prey to periodical sickness.

At Rome the woollen trade was encouraged, and soon 400 looms might be counted at work. At the same time the squares and monuments of the city were embellished; the ancient solar obelisk was erected before the palace of Monte-Citorio; the obelisk of Sallust's Gardens, which for forty years had lain in a corner of the Piazza of S. John Lateran, was set up on the summit of the superb staircase of the Trinità dei Monti; a sacristy was added to S. Peter's; and the Vatican Museum was greatly enlarged, Pius having enriched it with over two thousand statues. (2)

Rome had not been so populous for centuries as it was under Pius VI. Under Leo X, the population numbered 85,000; under Pius VI it reached 165,000.

(1) The constantly submerged surface was reduced from 20,000 to 2,000 hectares. This work cost the enormous sum of £ 347,10.4. See Tournon's "*Études statistiques sur Rome*", t. I, p. 213, and t. II, p. 233.

(2) The Pio-Clementine-Museum of the Vatican, thus named from its founders, Clement XIII, Clement XIV and Pius VI, consists of a square and a round vestibule, the Meleager room, the portico of the Belvedere Court, galleries of statuary, halls devoted to animals and beasts, a room filled with mosaics and rich marbles, the Hall of the Muses, the Round Hall, the Greek Cross, and a fine staircase, the work of Pius VI.

Probably at no period of the Papacy had Rome seen so many illustrious visitors within so short a time; among them may be mentioned the Emperor of Germany, the Czar of Russia, the King of Sweden, the sons and the brother of the King of England.

Houses of charity kept pace with the increasing population: Pius himself greatly enlarged the two hospitals of S. Spirito and S. Michele, the former being embellished by the fifty-eight columns which support its roof; the Conservatorio Pio, on the Janiculum, was founded for young girls, who soon made it famous for its damask wares. Many generous hearts followed the Pope's example: a Borromeo, heir to an illustrious and devout family, opened a home for orphans on the Esquiline; a lawyer, Dom Pasquale di Pietro, sent young men to Paris at his own expense in order that they might be trained at the School of the Abbé de l'Épée, and established on the Pincio a school for deaf-mutes; Caterina Marchetti, a simple Trinitarian sister, started the Trinitarian Asylum; another nun, Sister Maria-Teresa Sebastiani, opened a home for penitent women; and a poor half witted artisan, Giovanni Borgi, collected poor children from the streets, taught them order and work, and, by degrees, founded the Institution called "Papa Giovanni" after the children's benefactor.

On witnessing this remarkable development of genius, learning and charity, it might well be supposed that Rome was approaching the Golden Age; but, unhappily, there was another side to the picture, and the sufferings of Rome have yet to be told.

When Pius VI ascended the throne, revolutionary ideas were spreading all the more rapidly, inasmuch as the Kings themselves had become their forerunners. Joseph II in Germany, Leopold in Tuscany, the Duke of Parma, and the King of the Two Sicilies, had deliberately impaired the authority of the Church, weakened its influence on their people, and had, in a word, destroyed the work of centuries for the benefit of their own absolutism. But, after the Princes had sounded the tocsin, the tocsin was to ring for them.

It is not our intention to review in detail the political complications which the French Revolution brought about in Italy. Every one knows the energy with which Pius VI resisted the encroachments of the Constituent Assembly on the lawful rights of the Apostolic See, and the tenderness with which he received those driven into exile by the revolutionary storm. The daughters of Louis XV, priests, and French monks, found at Rome both comfort and support (1); the Abbé Maury was admitted to the Sacred College; and, when the death of Louis XVI taught Europe that no negotiations were possible with the Revolution, Pius VI did not hesitate to praise the virtues and courage of the slaughtered King, in an allocution delivered before the Cardinals. In this allocution, spoken on the 17<sup>th</sup> of June 1793, the Holy Father said, "Oh! day of triumph for Louis! Heaven gave him patience in the severest trials and victory in the arms of death! Yes, we are truly convinced that he

(1) According to Feller's "Dictionnaire historique", more than 40,000 French priests found generous hospitality in the Roman States.

left his perishable crown, and those lilies which withered too soon, to receive an immortal crown woven by angel hands." The eulogium on the Prince was soon to be the Pontiff's own.

Already the mutterings of the storm were heard in Rome. Forgetting the insults and contumely showered on the papal effigy and arms at Paris and Marseilles, and the occupation of Avignon and Comtat-Venaissin, during a time of peace, the French Government ordered the Consul of France at Rome to hoist the Republican flag over his residence. The Consul gave notice of this order to Pius VI, who, from prudential motives, opposed its performance. But the Consul persisted, and two agents of the Convention, Laflotte and Basseville, with French impetuosity, paraded the Corso displaying the tricolore on themselves and on their carriage. The populace hooted and flung stones at them; it is said they replied with pistols; the disturbance increased, and the two Frenchmen were chased by a furious mob, yelling, "Viva S. Pietro!" Laflotte owed his safety to the troops that turned out at the first news of the riot; but Basseville, who had taken refuge in a shop, was slashed with a razor by a barber, and died next day from his wound. The Pope plainly showed his grief at these excesses; nevertheless the Republic determined on satisfaction; and it is probable that the rejoicings at Rome on Basseville's death deepened its determination. For this event had been celebrated with frantic rejoicings by every class of the Roman people, and Monti even made it the subject of a poem which was considered worthy of Dante.

The French armies were at this time threatening Northern Italy; at first their advance was slow; but it became marvellously rapid as soon as Bonaparte was placed in command, and Pius VI was dumb-founded and awe-struck at their success. At enormous sacrifices he purchased, first, the Truce of Bologna, then that Peace of Tolentino which was so soon to be broken. In order to satisfy the conditions of the treaty, sanctuaries were despoiled of their treasures; the gold chalices, statues from the Museums, famous pictures, those imperishable trophies of ancient Italian glory, were carried across the Alps, and even the venerated statue of Our Lady of Loreto was borne away in triumph by the conqueror.

In making his report to the Directory on the Treaty of Tolentino, Bonaparte bluntly remarked:—"My opinion is that Rome, once deprived of Bologna, Ferrara, Romagna, and the 30,000,000 lire we are carrying off, can no longer exist. This old machine will collapse of itself". (1)

Such was the calculation: if they did not actually destroy the Holy See they at least took steps to prevent it living. "You must aid rather than restrain the good dispositions of those who consider it is time to put down the Papal power", wrote the Directory to their ambassador. Doubtless this advice was followed. What actually happened was that, on the night of the 27<sup>th</sup> to 28<sup>th</sup> of December 1797, an outbreak occurred on the Pincio, headed by the sculptor Ceracchi. The rioters were dispersed by the Ponti-

(1) Letter dated 1<sup>st</sup> Ventôse, Year V, quoted by Artaut.

fical troops, and fled for refuge to the French Embassy. Joseph Bonaparte, who was there with a few officers, hesitated about admitting them; but the rioters, charged by cavalry and infantry in the rear, flung themselves upon the staircase of the Palace. Joseph then requested to speak with the commander of the troops; way was made for him, and the result of his conference was being awaited when the run-aways, regaining their courage, began to insult the troops. The soldiers replied by opening fire; the youthful General Duphot dashed forward to stop bloodshed, and fiercely motioned to the Pontifical dragoons, who, taking him for one of the rioters, stretched him dead on the pavement.

The murder of a French officer, though accidentally committed during a riot, rendered useless all the great sacrifices of Tolentino. The Republican army advanced by forced marches on the Tiber, and, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of February 1798, Berthier's regiments were beheld spreading over Monte Mario. Berthier demanded admission to the Castle of S. Angelo, which was ceded to him, and next day all the important points of the city were occupied, while, on the 12<sup>th</sup>, the Pontifical troops were disarmed.

The French had reckoned that the Romans would remember their ancient traditions of liberty whereas they remained silent and quiet. Berthier thus writes to Bonaparte:— "I arrived this morning and have only witnessed the most profound consternation throughout the country. As to the spirit of liberty I have not met with the slightest trace.

A patriot was presented to me who offered to set at liberty two thousand galley-slaves; I leave you to imagine how I welcomed such a proposal."

The temporal sovereignty of the Popes was now abolished, and a certain solemnity was given to the occasion. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of February an excited crowd took its way to the Forum, where, in the presence of Generals Murat and Cervoni, a deed was drawn up by three lawyers, whereby possession was retaken of "the imprescriptible rights of man". Cervoni then nominated seven Consuls, and a move was made to the Capitol to plant the tree of liberty. Berthier's triumph shortly followed this official renewal of ancient customs. The General was crowned with laurel, and, having ascended the steps of the Capitol, he declared that the sons of Gaul had come, olive-branch in hand, to raise up once more the altars of liberty founded by the first Brutus. The hostages were thereupon released and a *Te Deum* sung at S. Peter's.

Pius VI protested against this insolent violation of his rights: "an old man of eighty" he said, "had no longer anything to fear in the world". His composure never forsook him for a moment; General Cervoni having ventured to remark that his spiritual authority remained to him in its fulness and integrity, the Pope answered:— "Sir, that authority was given to us by God, and no human power can take it from us."

The august Pontiff having requested permission to die near the tomb of the Apostles, "Men die everywhere", replied Haller the Calvinist, who, as



Dr. Miley exclaimed, "was well chosen by the Directory to compass the death of the last of the Popes". Pius VI was, in fact, compelled to quit Rome, and was sent towards Tuscany on the 20<sup>th</sup> of February. The Cardinals were in their turn either arrested or dispersed.

Rome was now completely in the power of France. However, the new Republic was somewhat shaken by the advance of the Neapolitan army, commanded by Mack. The French withdrew from Rome in order to concentrate their forces in the neighbourhood of Perugia, when they promptly resumed the offensive: the Neapolitan troops gave way before the trained regiments of Championnet, Rome was retaken, and Naples itself had to yield to the superiority of French arms.

Several agents of the Directory committed acts of the most flagrant spoliation at Rome; acts which are too well substantiated to be passed over in silence. Even in the ranks of the army they excited the greatest indignation, which found vent in a solemn protest, drawn up in the church of S. Maria-della-Rotonda, and presented to the general who had succeeded Berthier. "Men invested with public functions enter rich houses, and, without formality, take away all they find there. Such deeds ought not to go unpunished; they cry out for vengeance . . . We demand that all objects taken under various pretexts from private houses or churches shall be forthwith returned, and that these buildings shall be restored to the condition in which they were before we entered Rome: we insist on exacting punishment for the

robberies committed in this town by unworthy functionaries and by the wasteful administrators, who, corrupt as they are, are plunged day and night in luxury and debauch . . .”

The Directory took its fair share in these spoliations. One of its agents, the ex-Oratorian Daunou, was commissioned to send to Paris 500 chests of treasure robbed from churches and museums. They even wished him to remove Trajan's column, but here Daunou raised difficulties. Some time later he wrote to them:—“It appears you have given up the idea of transporting Trajan's column; it would indeed have proved a very expensive undertaking.” (1)

All Italy had fallen beneath the power of France; on all sides Republics sprang up penetrated with the spirit of the “Social Contract”, and it seemed as though the Church could not escape the ruin which daily threatened all ancient institutions. The venerable Pontiff Pius VI was dragged across the Alps in spite of his eighty years. They carried him over Mt. Ginevra; some sympathizing hussars offered him their cloaks, but he refused them, preferring to suffer himself, sooner than let others do so. When he reached Briançon a noisy crowd clamoured to see him; some blessed, others insulted, him, Pius VI dragged himself to the window, and said: “Ecce homo”. At the sight of the Pontiff, and the sound of his words, which recalled the greatest of

(1) Quoted by M. de Corcelles. “Correspondant”, t. XXXVIII, p. 731.

all sufferings, the multitude prostrated themselves. (1) The Pope was conducted to Valence, receiving the affectionate homage of the Southerners throughout the journey; but, on his arrival there, his strength failed him and, on the 29<sup>th</sup> August 1799, he expired with the dignity of a Bishop and the resignation of a Saint.

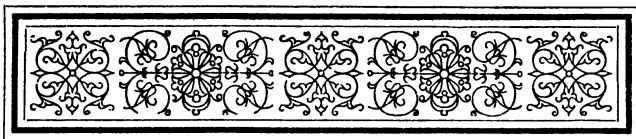
This death fulfilled the wishes and hopes of the philosophic sect. The Cardinals were dispersed, and every possible measure had been taken to make a break in that dynasty of the Apostle, whose crown, although worn by aged heads, had been more secure than those of Kings. But, at the moment marked out by God, the whole political aspect changed. The league formed against France was consolidated; the English blockaded Italian ports, and Russians swarmed over the Noric Alps. The French divisions, threatened along the line of their communications, withdrew fighting gallantly. Naples once more proclaimed Ferdinand IV; the Austrians and Neapolitans occupied the Roman States; Northern Italy surrendered to the Emperor Francis II, and the Cardinals, at last free, assembled in the cloisters of S. Giorgio Maggiore, at Venice. Four months later, the Bishop of Imola, Barnabo de' Chiaramonti, assumed the tiara, taking the name of Pius VII as a pledge of martyrdom.

Pius VII left Venice on board a frigate, the 9<sup>th</sup> June 1800, and disembarked at Pesaro on the 17<sup>th</sup>, entering Rome amidst the wildest enthusiasm.

(1) Several biographers mention this fact, though it is not found recorded in Rohrbacher. It is, however, well known that Pius VI was universally received with great respect.

At the same time a fresh revolution was taking place in France; law and order were regaining life beneath a powerful Dictatorship; while the youthful conqueror of Italy was starting negotiations with the Pontiff for the re-establishment of Catholic worship in the kingdom of S. Louis. Thus the work of sceptical philosophy was being torn to shreds; everyone repudiated its heritage, and that eighteenth century, which had made use of its force to destroy "l'infâme", to use Voltaire's low language, was condemned at its last hour to witness its triumph.





## CHAPTER XXIV.

L'homme s'agite et Dieu le mène.  
*Fénelon.*

## NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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HATEAUBRIAND wrote in 1803:-- "The Pope's countenance is wonderful. Pale, sad, religious, all the tribulations of the Church rest upon his brow." Yet, at that time, he had not suffered the tribulations Providence had in store for him. Pius VII was truly upright and benevolent; and no one, better than he, could bring forward persuasive measures to meet those vexing questions raised by the Revolution. Factions amalgamated, altars re-appeared in France, the Concordat was signed, and Pius VII did not hesitate to cross the Alps in order to preside at the coronation of the new Cæsar.

The absence of the Pope lasted nearly six months. Rome feared he might never return, and Pius VII himself was not without anxiety. It is true Napoleon had more than once expressed, in high-flown language, his respect for the Papacy. One of his ambassadors

having asked him how he was to treat Pius VII, the autocrat replied: "As though he had 200,000 men." Again, in 1802, he said: "The Pope is reproached with being a foreign sovereign; this Chief is a foreigner, in truth, and we should thank Heaven for it. The Pope is out of Paris and that is well. He is neither at Madrid nor Venice, and that is why we support his spiritual authority. At Vienna and Madrid they have grounds for saying the same thing. It is therefore lucky that he lives neither in his own land or with rivals. It is the centuries which have brought this about, and they have done well. For the government of souls it is the best, the most beneficent, institution which can be imagined." (1)

But in 1805, after the proclamation of the Empire and the coronation, the Emperor's words were neither so grand nor so reassuring. The name of Avignon, that ancient Papal city, was openly mentioned in the Emperor's presence. Some even suggested turning the Archbishopric of Paris into another Vatican for the Papacy; and each day fresh delays were thrown in the way of the Pope's departure. Wearied with this underhand opposition, Pius VII by a few forcible words put an end to it. He said to one of the officers of the crown: "The rumour has been spread that we may be kept in France. Well, all has been prepared in that event: before leaving Rome, we signed a legal abdication that will come into force if we are thrown into prison. This deed is beyond the reach of French influence; Cardinal Pignatelli has

(1) Thiers' "Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire".

it in his keeping at Palermo; and, when the schemes you are meditating become public, you will only have in your hands a poor monk called Barnabo Chiaramonti." That same evening the Emperor signed the papers for his departure.

Pius VII re-entered Rome, 16<sup>th</sup> of May 1805, amid an immense gathering of the population who accompanied him to S. Peter's, where the Pope knelt a long time in prayer before the Confession, and then gave his blessing to the people.

The administration of Pius VII was benevolent, intelligent and enlightened. In lieu of the system of taxation, which had been handed down from the days of Emperors and Consuls, and which greatly restricted private industry and enterprise, he instituted, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September 1800, and on the 9<sup>th</sup> of April 1801, a system of free trade and liberty of action, which gave an immediate impulse to commerce and agriculture. He even went further, and ordered regular cultivation or plantation of land, under a penalty for non-observance, while rewards were given for good farming.

Thus industry was encouraged; national prosperity increased, and the fine arts revived once more, after having all but perished from the evil effects of invasion. Pius VII ordered further excavations in the Forum and its neighbourhood; the pavement of the ancient Via Sacra was brought to light; the arches of Septimus Severus and Constantine were cleared of the rubbish in which they were embedded; and the walls of the Coliseum were strengthened with a buttress which has preserved them from ruin. At the same time

many beautiful works were issuing from Canova's studio; and a young native of Pesaro, Gioachimo Rossini, consoled Italy, mourning the loss of Cimarosa, by masterpieces of music, recalling the "*Matrimonio segreto*", which still delighted the world.

Rome was enjoying peace and the arts, while cannon roared at Austerlitz and Friedland; but, in proportion as crowns fell at Napoleon's feet, his ambition increased, and threatened the independence of nations which had hitherto been unnoticed by him. Master of Northern Italy and of the Kingdom of Naples, he looked with impatience at that tongue of land which intercepted his communications, and whose neutrality interfered with his plans. Moreover, the name of Rome was too great to remain outside the dominions of the "successor of Charlemagne". Either the Pope must sink to the silent rôle of an Imperial Prefect, or he must renounce his temporal sovereignty. Napoleon wrote, "The Pope must henceforth resign himself to whatever I, and I alone, exact; I look on myself with regard to him in all respects as Charlemagne did to the present Pontiff's predecessors". (1)

Pius VII firmly resisted these pretensions: he refused to dismiss from Rome the representatives of the Powers that were hostile to France, or to close the ports of the States of the Church to the ships of those nations. (2) Napoleon's rage knew no

(1) Letter to Cardinal Fesch.

(2) They were Sardinia, Portugal, England, Sweden, and Russia.



bounds on hearing of the Pope's pacific and impartial attitude; he exclaimed: "The Pope does not deserve to keep the possessions bestowed, for the welfare of Christendom, on his predecessors by Charlemagne, since he makes use of them for the benefit of the heretical English." It was no doubt as a scrupulous defender of orthodoxy that Napoleon seized on Ponte-Corvo and Benevento, giving them as fiefs to a Protestant General and an apostate Bishop! (1) He then invaded the Marches and, under pretext of sending troops to Naples, directed a division on the Tiber. On learning this Pius VII sent for the French Ambassador, the regicide Alquier, who, in league with the disaffected, played the part Joseph Bonaparte had already filled against the sovereign to whom he was accredited. The Holy Father said to him: "You are one of those who voted for the death of the King of France; that execrable crime should have filled the rest of your days with horror, and altered your political views. But in all things you have acted differently . . . but let us tell you, we know all and forgive you all. Tell your master that, trusting in his word, we undertook a peaceful journey on his account, and he has been false to us in all things; yet it is not so much to us he has been false as to God. Tell him that ascending this throne affected us no more than would crossing this floor. Tell him that nothing can shake us." (2)

(1) Bernadotte and Talleyrand.

(2) Pius VII furthermore said to the Imperial Ambassador:—"When it is a matter of duty nothing can be extracted from us, even though they should flay us (*ancorchè si scorticassero*)."

Meanwhile, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 1808, the French entered Rome, and conducted themselves as conquerors. Several Cardinals and prelates were exiled; even the Pope's ministers, Doria and Gabrielli, were driven out of Rome, and Cardinal Pacca would have been similarly treated had not the Pope rescued him from their hands. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1809, cannon from the Castle of S. Angelo announced to the Eternal City that it had ceased to be the metropolis of the world, and that it had sunk to the position of a secondary city of the French Empire. On his part Pius VII hurled a Bull of excommunication against the author and the abettors of the troubles which afflicted the Church; this Bull was affixed to the walls of the great Basilicas in broad daylight, while the venerable Pontiff patiently awaited in the Quirinal Palace the outrages he already foresaw. (1)

In fact, during the night of the 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> July, the garden walls of Monte-Cavallo were scaled by troops under the command of General Radet, several doors were forced, and the General advanced, pale and trembling into the apartments of the Pope, whom, with faltering voice, he summoned to surrender his temporal power, excusing himself for his harsh mission by the oath of fidelity he had given to the Emperor. Pius VII replied with dignity: "If, because

(1) On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July 1807, Napoleon wrote from Dresden to Eugène Beauharnais: "What can Pius VII anticipate by denouncing me to Christendom, by placing my throne under an interdict, and excommunicating me? Does he imagine that the weapons will fall from the hands of my soldiers?"

you have taken an oath of fidelity and obedience, you feel compelled to execute these orders of the Emperor, you will understand how we must maintain the rights of the Holy See, to which we are bound by many oaths. We cannot surrender what we do not possess; the temporal dominions belong to the Roman Church, and we are but their administrator. The Emperor may order us to be torn in pieces, but he shall never obtain from us what he demands. Moreover, after all we have done for him, we little expected such treatment." (1)

Pius VII was immediately conducted through the shattered doors to a carriage which was in waiting on the Piazza di Monte-Cavallo. Before entering it the Holy Father paused a moment and blessed Rome, after which he took his place accompanied by Cardinal Pacca. The doors were padlocked, and the horses, driven at a gallop towards the Porta Salaria, followed the walls of the city as far as the Porta del Popolo, and disappeared on the high road to Tuscany.

We will not follow Pius VII in his sad exile, nor through the physical and mental tortures with which his enemies sought to overcome his constancy. His faithful advisers were removed far from him, and he was surrounded with bought men and spies who treated him basely. (2)

(1) For all these details I have followed the "*Mémoires*" of Cardinal Pacca, which M. Artaud also has used in his interesting work "*Vie de Pie VII*".

(2) How can one qualify the terms of that despatch notified to the venerable Pontiff by the Prefect of Savona: "Let him

Rome, with all her monuments of glory, now absolutely belonged to the French; the Vatican no longer held its secrets; its archives could be searched at will by the conquerors. These revealed that the Pope's expenditure only reached £ 27,160 a year, and the new Prefect of Rome wrote: "A feeling of respect will doubtless be felt for the sovereign, who, in his personal expenditure and the maintenance of his Court, contented himself with a sum of money which, in several of the States of Europe, would not suffice for private individuals." (1) But side by side with this modest outlay were the vast sums he had spent on public improvements, his excellent administration, and charitable grants.

Philosophers had made great capital out of the excesses of the Inquisition, probably without much believing in them themselves. De Brosses, at least, did not allow himself to be deceived, for he wrote: "We must not believe that the Holy Office was as black as it has been painted; I have not heard of any mischance overtaking people sent before the Inquisition, nor of anyone having been rigorously treated." (2) We can satisfy ourselves of the truth of this observation. M. de Tournon says:—"The prison of the Holy Office was almost empty;" he adds that the size of the rooms destined for the prisoners, their healthy condition and cleanliness, who preaches rebellion, whose soul is filled with gall, cease to be the organ of the Church. Since nothing can teach him, he shall find that his Majesty is powerful enough to do what his predecessors have done, that is, depose a Pope."

(1) Tournon's "*Études statistiques sur Rome*", t. II, p. 65.

(2) "*L'Italie il y a cent ans*", t. II, p. 147.

spoke of the most humane feelings. He also bears witness to the caution exercised by the Holy Office in its sentences and the gentle leniency of its procedure. (1)

French administration lasted from 1809 to 1814. For five years Pius VII suffered with a constancy worthy of the first centuries; and during that time Rome was deprived of the pontifical government which had so much contributed to her glory. However, the French did all they could to obtain forgiveness for the violence of their conquest, and to remove any painful impressions left by the invasion of 1798. To the same extent as they had been devastators under the Directory they became preservers under the Empire. Ancient monuments were carefully isolated from modern constructions, others were cleared from the accumulated rubbish of centuries; the Tabularium, which had contained the brazen tables; the column of Phocas; the columns from the temples of Jupiter Tonans and of Antoninus and Faustina; the Baths of Titus with their wonderful arabesques; the marble pavement and broken columns of the Ulpian Basilica; all re-appeared, in the fulness of their proportions, to the wondering eyes of Rome. (2)

(1) "*Études statistiques sur Rome*", t. II, p. 47. The same author, speaking of the Strada Giulia and S. Michele prisons, declares they are far superior to the houses of detention then existing in other States.

(2) M. Tournon relates that the Trajan column rose "from the depths of a sort of well, in the middle of a place so narrow that it was scarcely visible". This place was enlarged at the cost of the church of S. Spirito, founded in the fourteenth century, and of the Conservatorio of S. Euphemia,

Efforts were made to awaken ambition in some of the great families, and bind them to the interest of France; the Arcadians heard the praises of Napoleon sung in Pindaric verse beneath the vaulted roof of the Capitol; but, as a whole, the population remained silent and suffered acutely. (1)

When at length the united powers poured into France, it seemed as if Pius VII was borne to S. Peter's in the arms of enthusiastic nations; to that Quirinal he had left as a captive, and to which he now returned triumphant. Cardinal Pacca, who accompanied the Holy Father, thus describes his entry:-- "Arrived at the Milvian Bridge, commonly called the Ponte-Molle, we found that the State Commissioners, who were the prelates and secular lords to whom the provisional government had been confided, had come to offer their homage to His Holiness. The horses were removed from the carriage, and twenty-four young Romans, all of good birth and dressed alike, harnessed themselves to it. Thus was Pius VII conducted to S. Peter's. Outside the walls of Rome, at the Villa Viale, girls from the

which Cardinal Baronius had erected at the end of the sixteenth. The promenade on the Pincio was begun by the French, and they also projected the Quays by the Tiber.

(1) On the 4<sup>th</sup> of February 1809, and consequently before the kidnapping of Pius VII, the French police decided that the amusements of the Carnival should take place as usual, in spite of the Holy Father's prohibition; but all the houses remained closed, and the Corso was deserted. The Romans were heard to remark: "Man cannot be driven like a bear, and dance and amuse himself by strokes from a rod" (Cardinal Pacca's "*Mémoires*").

Conservatorio della divina Provvidenza advanced, bearing long gilded palms waving like feathers. At the same time these children sang canticles of blessing . . . . Meanwhile the Holy Father shed abundant tears of happiness. Others have dilated on the joy of the good Roman people, on the devotion and love which they exhibited at this triumphal entry. As for me I dare not speak of it, lest I should insufficiently describe it. All I will say is that, whenever His Holiness passed, multitudes were seen whose voices were choked with sobs, and who sought in vain to unite their good wishes with the acclamations which resounded throughout the city. But their gestures and looks were far more eloquent than their voices could have been . . . .”

Cardinal Bartolomeo Pacca was one of the most distinguished men of this period; the extent of his knowledge and the varied qualities of his mind were only excelled by his energy and courage. Pius VII respected him greatly and sought his advice, more particularly in evil days. But the man who, in the words of Dante, held “the two keys of his heart” was Cardinal Ercole Consalvi, of the title of S. Agata-in-Suburra. Consalvi had not yet been raised to the purple when he was summoned to act as Secretary at the Conclave. It was he who first thought of Barnabo Chiaramonti, and who in a few days succeeded in obtaining for him the suffrages of the Cardinals. Had it not been for Consalvi the Conclave of 1801 would have miscarried; and his influence was no less felt during the great diplomatic events of 1815. Statesmen who had transactions with him

called him the Siren of Rome; while he was beloved and respected by the Roman people, on account of his conscientious devotion to his duties. (1) Consalvi was Pius VII's habitual minister, and was consulted by him whenever matters required to be treated with prudence and caution; but, when these were of no avail, the Holy Father had recourse to the energy of Cardinal Pacca.

Both, however, showed themselves equally devoted and firm in any great crisis, a credit which they shared with Cardinals Mattei, della Somaglia, di Pietro, Gabrielli, Litta, Pignatelli, Galeffi, Opizzoni, Scotti, Saluzzo, Brancadoro, Ruffo-Scilla, etc.

Pius VII had returned to Rome on the 24<sup>th</sup> of May 1814. A number of Roman nobles, who never expected this event, had compromised themselves by their conduct and want of allegiance during the Holy Father's absence. One of them came to him to ask forgiveness: "And we", replied the venerable Pontiff, "do you think we have no faults with which we reproach ourselves?" Such was the only reaction that accompanied the re-establishment of the Pontifical throne.

The ambitious Joachim Murat coveted Rome and, disowning his brother-in-law, dared to hope that the Pontifical city would be awarded to him as the price of his treachery. Disappointed in his hopes, and fearful for the royalty which he held from Napoleon,

(1) During the inundation of the Tiber, on the night of the 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1805, Cardinal Consalvi went in a boat to take help and food to the sufferers in the Via del Orso.



he scarcely waited for the latter's escape from Elba, before he invaded the Papal States at the head of an army. For the moment Murat only talked of marching through them to oppose the Austrians; he even went so far as to request the Pope's permission; but this was refused and Murat occupied Terracina. On learning this Pius VII determined to quit Rome on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of March 1815, for it was well known that Elisa Bonaparte had said:— "If Napoleon is arrested in France we shall try to take the Pope as a hostage."

Pius VII retired to Genoa, where he was received with the same enthusiasm which that city had formerly shown on a similar occasion to Innocent IV, and Murat entered Rome at the head of 50,000 men, whom he directed on Tuscany and Lombardy, at the same time calling all Italy to arms. But he was soon forced to retreat, and was completely defeated on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May, at Tolentino, by Generals Niepperg and Bianchi. It so happened that the spot which had been the scene of the early humiliations of the Papacy in 1797, was destined, eighteen years later, to witness the final disaster of its enemies.

Pius VII returned to Rome on the 7<sup>th</sup> of June 1815, and this last triumph was followed by a long peace. Thus it was reserved for the nineteenth century to assist in the greatest victories of Christian Rome. False philosophy, scepticism, and ambition had in their turn fallen before her; and the veneration in which she had been held for eighteen hundred years goes on increasing with her virtues.

The era of calm which followed the disturbances of the Empire was a period when art, letters, and charity flourished. Clinical schools and operating rooms, which were among the best in Europe, were founded by Pius VII; large halls at the Capitol were devoted to receive the busts of celebrated Italians, Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Galileo, etc. (1); night schools were started for workmen and their children, and additional museums were opened at the Vatican with all that splendour which Popes love to display in the cause of intellectual progress. (2)

The Vatican had not until now possessed a collection of paintings, for hitherto the churches had been the real picture galleries of Rome. But when, after the defeat of the French, the stolen masterpieces were brought back from Paris, Pius VII placed them, together with some others, in a suite of rooms at the Vatican. Though in number this is the smallest of the great collections of Europe, it is probably the first from the importance of the paintings.

(1) Formerly these busts had been kept at the Pantheon; Pius VII greatly increased their number and placed them in the Protomoteca at the Capitol. Some busts of foreigners, owing to their long residence in Italy, were admitted; such as Poussin, Suvée, Winkelmann and Angelica Kauffmann.

(2) These new museums comprise the Inscription corridor, the walls of which are covered with sepulchral stones, Pagan being on one side and Christian on the other; the Chiaramonti Museum, formed out of a long corridor divided into rooms and filled with statuary; the Braccio Nuovo, a fine gallery also devoted to sculpture; and the Belvedere hemicycle, consisting of the Egyptian and Attic Museums.

There are scarcely fifty canvases, but they include Angelico da Fiesole's "S. Nicolò di Bari", Mantegna's "Pietà", Garofalo's "Sibilla", Perugino's "Resurrection", Domenichino's "Communion of S. Jerome", and Raphael's "Madonna di Foligno" and "Transfiguration", France is represented by two great masters; "The Martyrdom of SS. Processus and Martinianus" by Valentin, and "The Martyrdom of S. Erasmus" by Poussin. (1)

Since 1815 Rome had become the asylum for most of the members of Napoleon's family; the late prisoner of Fontainebleau nobly sheltering these fallen royalties who only yesterday expected and looked for his downfall. S. Cyprian had written of Rome:— "Non potest accessum habere perfidia." (2)

Cardinal Pacca relates:— "Notwithstanding that the excellent Pontiff Pius VII was overwhelmed by fatigue, sufferings, and a long and cruel persecution, he continued to reign eight years, passing away to rest with the righteous on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August 1823. After having been successively the companion of his misfortunes and the happy witness of his triumphs,

(1) These two paintings, as also the Communion of S. Jerome, were formerly at S. Peter's. They have been there replaced by magnificent copies in mosaic.

(2) Cardinal Consalvi relates that a son of Count Verri having wished to publish, in 1818, a vigorous work written by his father on the struggle between the Priesthood and the Empire, between Napoleon and Pius VII, that Pontiff said to the Cardinal—: "This MS. contains admirable passages . . . but please see that it does not appear. Napoleon is unhappy, very unhappy; we have forgotten the wrongs he did us, the Church must never forget his services. He has done, on behalf of this

I was obliged, from my office as Camerlingo of the Holy Church, to carry out a duty that was most painful to me, that of identifying the body, covering the face with a veil, and sealing the coffin with my family arms."

In Cardinal Pacca's words, Pius VII died like so many Princes of the Church, no less than many Senators of ancient Rome, had lived, "grown old in the purple and in poverty."

To carry out his last wishes all his effects were sold; and Cardinal Consalvi undertook, at his own expense, to erect a tomb to his memory as a token of his gratitude. This mausoleum, the work of Thorwaldsen, occupies one of the sides of the Clementine Chapel at S. Peter's.

To the venerable and gentle Pius VII succeeded the austere LEO XII, whose powerful will would have done much for religion and for Rome had God granted him length of days. Unfortunately his pontificate lasted only six years, from 1823 to 1829.

Holy See, what no one else would have dared to undertake. We will not be ungrateful to him. This book might reach S. Helena, and the English would take good care to place it before Napoleon's eyes, and would tell him that I had sanctioned its publication. To think that this unhappy man should suffer through us is already a torment, especially at this moment when he is asking us for a priest in order to reconcile him to God. We will not, we cannot, we ought not in any way to increase his sufferings. Rather do we, from our heart, desire that they should be lessened, and his life rendered more pleasant." "*L'Église romaine en face de la Révolution*", by Crétineau-Joly, t. I, p. 472.

Yet his name is attached as a benefactor to most of the charitable and educational institutions of Rome. He built new hospitals; devoted large sums yearly to public works for the benefit of the poor; and constructed a cellular prison for young delinquents, "which prison is still a model of its kind." (1) Nor did his generosity overlook the celebrated Sapienza University; while in the development of all scientific and charitable works he pursued a policy of enlightened administration. (2)

Leo XII carried out a wish that had greatly occupied Pius VII, namely, the foundation of an Order of Nursing Sisters to look after the sick in the Roman hospitals. (3) He also summoned the Sisters of the Sacred Heart from Paris to undertake the education of the daughters of the Roman nobility, and the Brothers of Christian Doctrine to instruct the lower classes.

The short pontificate of Leo XII was followed by the still shorter one of Pius VIII. He scarcely reigned one year, and was succeeded, in 1830, on S. Peter's Chair by Cardinal Maur Capellari, a lowly yet learned monk, who had long been Abbot of the Monastery of S. Gregory the Great, on the Coelian Hill, and who, in memory of this, took the name of GREGORY XVI. M. de Corcelle thus briefly

(1) M. Remacle's Report.

(2) Leo XII enriched the Vatican Library with Count Cicognara's works of art.

(3) These Nursing Sisters were instituted at Rome by Princess Teresa Doria Pamfili. Her name, and that of the Princesses Borghese, will ever be blessed by the Roman people.

describes him:— “A lofty soul, filled with regal greatness, sustained by the humble faith of a monk; this Pope, learned and keenly alive to the magnificence of the arts . . . lived in his palace in a cell, and died on his pallet of reeds.” (1)

The first years of the new pontificate were troubled and distressing. The Revolution had again lifted up its head, and, after having turned France upside down, threatened to upset Italy. Twice insurrections had broken out in the Legations, and their effects were even felt at Rome. Austria's intervention stopped the disorder; but France, as a set off to Austrian influence, occupied Ancona with her troops; and the name of Louis-Philippe, and the recollection of the Revolution of 1830, raised hopes among the discontented, hopes which happily were soon dispelled.

To these internal troubles diplomatic difficulties quickly supervened. The five great Powers, among them England, Russia, and Prussia, the implacable enemies of Catholicism, submitted quite a series of reforms to the Holy Father, which they were pleased to consider absolutely necessary for the better administration of the Roman States; without, however, taking note of the fact, to quote an eminent diplomatist, that “before advising the Church one must know her, and, in order to know her, one must love her”. (2)

Louis-Philippe, in particular, wished to press the programme of which he was the chief author upon the Pope, promising his protection at that price. The

(1) “Correspondant”, t. XXXVIII, p. 709.

(2) M. de Corcelle. — “Correspondant”, t. XXXVIII, p. 726.

aged Pontiff is said to have replied: "Oh! S. Peter's bark has outridden greater storms; we shall certainly brave the tempest. Let King Philippe d'Orleans keep the 'bonaccia' in reserve for himself, which he would sell to us at the price of honour. His throne shall fall, but this one, no!" (1)

The publicity given to these plans of reform took away from the Holy Father the credit of them, while leaving him all their dangers. If Gregory XVI had not realized this, the disturbances which took place in several parts of his dominions would soon have undeceived him. When left to himself, the venerable Pontiff nobly and peacefully furthered the work of civilization, after the example of all his predecessors. A Savings Bank was founded at Rome; the subsidies for public works were raised to 32,293 crowns; the laws were modified in accordance with experience, tempered always, however, by charity. The Gregorian Museum is one of the most priceless treasures of the Vatican; for, in itself, it reveals a whole civilization, the secret of which had been concealed for ages in the burial grounds of Etruscan cities. The discovery of these cemeteries at Vulci, Corneto, Bomarzo, and Cœre, is one of the great scientific events of our century. They were filled not only with sarcophagi, but with vast quantities of painted vases of beautiful workmanship, statues depicting the customs of the Etrurians, plastic fragments, candelabra, weapons, gold and silver ornaments exquisitely fashioned, such as clasps, rings, combs, necklaces, buckles, mirrors,

(1) "L'Église romaine en face de la Révolution", by Crétineau-Joly, t. II, p. 215.

and insignia of civil and military honours. These different objects either covered or lay beside the dead, who thus preserved, even in the tomb, the pomps of life. These are the thousand memories of a forgotten race which Gregory XVI collected in that portion of the Vatican which had been the palace of Pius IV.

Following on the exploration carried out during the eighteenth century in the Catacombs by Seroux d'Agincourt, a Jesuit Father, Marchi, undertook further investigations during the reign of Gregory XVI, and pursued them with the greatest energy. Father Vico, another Jesuit, maintained the reputation of the Roman Observatory; while two others, Father Passaglia, who had not yet been led astray by his liberalism, and Father Perrone did honour to the theological teaching at the Sapienza.

Probably the Roman States had never been more flourishing than at this period. Macfarlane, a Scotch Presbyterian, comparing what he had seen at the return of Pius VII with what he saw on the death of Gregory XVI, said that the latter Pope had left Italy in a state of "unparalleled prosperity", and, describing the condition of the country, added: "I should rejoice to see the peasantry in my own country as well clad as they are here, as well fed and as happy as these men, women, and children appear to be". (1)

(1) Quoted by Dr. Miley. — "*Histoire des États du Pape*", p. 737.

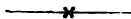


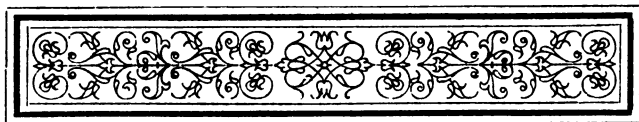
Yet throughout this efflorescence of science, art, and genius, the Revolution secretly continued its work, and, as it had done in the eighteenth century, first attacked the Jesuits. "Clerical power is personified in the Jesuits", wrote Mazzini to his followers, "the hatred of that name is already a power for socialism; make good use of it." (1) It had been the tactics of Voltaire and d'Alembert to crush the Jesuits by the Jansenists, and then the Jansenists by the philosophers; they little thought, however, that it would then be the turn of the philosophers to be crushed by the Revolution.

It is surprising that the governments of the nineteenth century were not less blind than had been those of the eighteenth. France, quickly forgetful, resumed the part she had played under Louis XV, and a special ambassador was sent to Gregory XVI to obtain an order for the dispersal of the Jesuits in France. But Gregory XVI was more far-seeing than Clement XIV had been; he refused to make any order, or to express any opinion, leaving the Jesuits to judge for themselves as to the difficulties of the times. He wrote to the French Bishops, "We have never failed in our duty and we never shall fail in it". (2) This was the "Non possumus" of the Apostles.

(1) Balleydier's "Histoire de la Révolution de Rome", t. I, Introduction, p. XVI.

(2) "Huic nostrum muneris nunquam defuimus, nunquam deerimus." The Jesuits closed some of their houses of their own accord.





## CHAPTER XXV.

Terroribus tutior et constantior in adversis,  
pressa prævalet, passa triumphat . . . . .  
*Boniface VIII.*

## NINETEENTH. CENTURY

(CONTINUED).

**T**HE life of Gregory XVI was drawing to a close. The venerable Pontiff had manfully struggled against the Revolution for fifteen years, daily witnessing its increasing hopes and demands, when suddenly he was brought face to face with another power quite as hostile to the Church, although the sworn enemy of the Revolution. On the 13<sup>th</sup> December 1845 the Emperor Nicholas of Russia arrived at Rome. Sovereign of an Empire only bounded by the desert, master of the bodies and, to a great extent, of the consciences of his subjects, Nicholas viewed Catholicism with impatience; it was to him a school of independence and liberty, which still continued to flourish amid the ruins of Poland. Moreover, the policy of the Czars had long urged them towards the Bosphorus. To revive the

Eastern Empire in order to form a strong bond of unity between the scattered fragments of the schism of Photius, in fact to oppose Constantinople to Rome, had been the constant, if not openly avowed, aim of all their efforts. With such hopes in view, it was clear that Catholicism could not be endured in Russia; so Nicholas encouraged apostasy, hampered the relations of Catholics with the Pontiff, and absolutely refused to receive a Papal Nuncio within his dominions. But, when he was travelling in the South of Europe during the autumn of 1845, Nicholas persuaded himself that a petty Italian king, like the Pope, would not dare to refuse sending him an invitation to Rome when he was actually at her gates. Gregory XVI neither invited nor repelled the Emperor, and, when the latter presented himself at his audience, he received a warm welcome but without pomp or ceremony. The Emperor respectfully kissed the Pope's hand who then embraced the Emperor. After this they discussed Catholic grievances and, when Nicholas spoke of his generous intentions, Gregory handed him a list of the ukases which oppressed Catholicism in his dominions. Nicholas was too noble-minded not to appreciate the saintly energy of the Pope, who was probably the only person who would have ventured to remind him of his duties. The audience lasted a long time; as it drew to a close, the Pope said:— "We are very near the end of our life; perhaps within a few months we shall have to render an account of our stewardship to God, and it is for the purpose of fulfilling our apostolic charge that we thus address you. You also,

although probably at a later date, will have to appear before the tribunal of the Sovereign Judge and give an account of these very matters." (1)

Six months afterwards, on the 6<sup>th</sup> June 1846, Gregory XVI went to his rest, near the tomb of the Apostles, full of years; and a decade had not elapsed ere Nicholas in spite of his age and strong constitution, died at S. Petersburg, after the disastrous battles of Alma and Inkermann, and the unforeseen destruction of all his hopes.

The death of Gregory XVI found Europe in the midst of a calm which everyone considered was merely the precursor of a storm. Such indeed were the difficulties of the situation that the Conclave did not wait for the arrival of the foreign Cardinals before they proclaimed a new Pontiff and, on the 16<sup>th</sup> June only ten days after Gregory's death, Rome heard of the election of Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti, who took the name of Pius IX. Universal satisfaction was expressed, not only at Rome but throughout Italy and Europe. Cardinal Mastai's gentle character was well known, and every one expected that he would succeed in winning by kindness those who would not be ruled by fear.

(1) "Correspondant", t. XIII, p. 5. Such were the details generally current at Rome. No official account was published. Cardinal Acton and the Russian Ambassador were the only witnesses of the interview. There was, however, only one opinion throughout Europe as to the Pope's action in this matter. The Times said on the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1845: "The conduct of the Pope was exceedingly dignified, energetic, and worthy of the Head of the Latin Church . . . the Pope was pleading for the rights of conscience . . ."

But amidst enthusiastic acclamations were mingled others less sincere. "Take advantage of the smallest occasion to assemble crowds, if only under the pretext of demonstrating gratitude", wrote Mazzini to agents of the secret societies; "festivals, singing, meetings, numerous relations established between men of every opinion, suffice to spread ideas and to give people a knowledge of their power, and to make them exacting . . . the difficulty lies not in convincing the people but in uniting them; the day on which we can bring them together will see the dawn of the new era." (1)

This is how revolutionists understand the sovereignty of the people; to agitate, fascinate, and deceive it! Moreover, they chiefly address the scum of the streets. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1850 the Times said:— "We must also bear in mind that the agricultural part of the population take no interest in revolutionary proceedings, and that the spirit of revolt exists almost exclusively in the towns. The people are blessed with a grateful soil, and are well fed and prosperous, but the lower classes in the cities can never be pleased, and afford plenty of combustible materials to the advocates who take the lead on all occasions." (2)

Every day, then, the Romans were mustered for triumphal marches, with the apparent object of returning thanks to Pius IX for the benefits which he daily conferred upon the city. Banners of the different

(1) Balleydier's "Histoire de la Révolution de Rome", t. I, p. XIII.

(2) Quoted by Dr. Miley:— "Histoire des États du Pape", p. 741.

districts were carried in advance, the corporations brought up the rear; Pius IX's hymn was sung in chorus, windows along the line of route were decorated, and hands applauded. Sometimes these processions took place at night, when torches were carried and the city was illuminated. Arriving at the Quirinal there were loud cries for the Pope, who would appear on a balcony, the people falling on their knees to receive his benediction.

Nothing could have been more imposing than these scenes, which at first showed that the true sentiments of the majority were veneration and gratitude. But, as Mazzini well knew, a crowd soon becomes a riot; passions are excited, and even generous ideas may be deceived on such occasions. They began with cries of "Long live Pius IX!" after that they added, "Long live Italy!" and the Italian *Marseillaise* suddenly succeeded the hymn of Pius IX:

"*Scuoti, o Roma, la polvere indegna . . .*"

which was sung beneath the Pope's windows to the inspiring strains of *Magazzari*. Pius IX, dismayed, refused to listen; this happened on the 16<sup>th</sup> of June 1847, that is to say on the first anniversary of his accession.

And yet, during that twelvemonth, Pius had been so active in pushing forward remedial measures as to exceed the hopes and wishes of all. Scarcely a month had elapsed from his coronation when he granted a generous pardon to all political prisoners. He said: "We stretch out our hand and offer heartfelt peace to all our beloved erring children who are sincerely repentant." Out of 1,600 prisoners one

only, Count Terenzio Mamiani of Pesaro, refused to express repentance or to give his word of honour that he would not abuse the mercy shown to him; all the others outvied one another in their expressions of gratitude and promises for the future. They even solemnly communicated together in S. Pietro-in-Vincoli as a proof of their sincerity.

The enthusiasm caused by this general reconciliation assumed, however, a victorious character in which something else was permitted to appear besides a spirit of repentance. Those who had been pardoned were treated like heroes; their names were extolled and placarded everywhere, on palaces and churches, even stamped on handkerchiefs, and lauded in hymns; the acclamations accorded to Pius IX's bust were mingled with insults to that of Gregory XVI. The ministers of the late government, and those who were afraid of popular movements, were signalled out as conspirators for public vengeance. When, on the 8<sup>th</sup> September 1846, the Pope's carriage had passed through the triumphal arches erected in his honour, those of the prelates attending him were not allowed to follow; and on the 27<sup>th</sup> December the populace ventured the cry of "Viva Pio Nono solo!"

Thus, as in the case of Louis XVI, before striking at the monarch, they first struck at his faithful followers. Pius IX, nevertheless, pursued his work of reformation with a calm conscience and love of right. He restored order in the finances, introduced economies, had a well balanced budget prepared, promulgated new laws, and projected four important railways. At the same time he devoted himself, after the example

of his predecessors, to propagating free education throughout his dominions; he opened additional asylums, and founded houses for the poor. But this was not the course of action desired by the secret societies; they even beheld with apprehension this intelligent policy and generosity which did honour to power and increased the people's respect for it. They therefore became more and more exacting in their demands. Mazzini wrote:— "Have a care never to let the people slumber outside the influence of agitation. Surround them constantly with noise, emotions, surprises, lies, and merry-makings. Let everything be disorder: a country is not revolutionized in the midst of calm, morality, and truth; in order to draw it towards us we must make it crazy." (1)

With this object in view, clubs were formed and multiplied, in order to create a factitious opinion among the people by constant agitation. The first aim they had was to obtain a civic guard, in other words, to get arms into their hands; and, as they knew this scheme would be strongly opposed, they started rumours of conspiracy. They said the Gregorians, viz., those who favoured the policy of Gregory XVI, were plotting against the Pope; they even named the devout Cardinal Lambruschini, the prelate Grassellini, and Colonel Freddi; they spread mistrust against the police and against the administration, and even against the household of the Holy Father, whose life, they ventured to say, was in danger. But soon it was not merely a conspiracy that was rumoured; it was a general

(1) "L'Italie rouge", p. 72.



massacre. The reactionaries, it was said, intended to plunge Rome into fire and blood; riots broke out and the populace demanded arms; therefore Pius IX, fearing the consequences a refusal might entail upon those who were marked out for public vengeance, sanctioned the establishment of the Civil Guard, 5<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> July 1847. This victory gained, steps were immediately taken to secure others.

Meanwhile, on his side, Pius IX steadily continued his work of reform. The organic law of the 2<sup>nd</sup> October affecting municipalities, those bearing on a Council of State, the organization of the Ministry, and the graduated responsibility of officers of State, will always be cited in history as admirable examples of clear-sightedness and wise liberality. Property, the sciences, commerce, in a word, every legitimate interest, henceforth would have its special representative. Nomination by the sovereign was combined with popular election. In these institutions there lay quite a future for pacific progress; but, unhappily, when passions are roused even wisdom becomes folly. "All goes well", said the members of the clubs to one another, "the Revolution advances from blessing to blessing; we have turned Pius IX into the motor power of the Italian Revolution."

Pius IX had no intention, however, of being made the plaything of revolutionary hypocrisy and insolence; so, when the Council assembled, he reminded the deputies of the limits of their powers with an energy which was in striking contrast to his habitual gentleness. In all that he had done, and in all that he proposed doing for the public welfare, the Holy

Father boldly reserved to himself complete pontifical sovereignty. "We shall not lessen it by a needle's point" (*neppure di un apice*), he said, "and such as we received it from our predecessors shall we transmit it to those who come after us. We have three millions of subjects as witnesses, nay we have the whole of Europe as a witness, to what we have hitherto done to approach our people, to unite ourselves with them, to learn their wants and to remedy them. And it is for this purpose that we have called you together as a permanent Assembly; to hear your opinions, to assist us in our sovereign decisions, which shall, moreover, always be the expression of our conscience . . . and that we may discuss those opinions with the Sacred College and our Ministers. That man greatly deceives himself who sees anything else in the duties you are about to perform; or who fancies he sees in the Council of State, which we have just created, the realisation of his own Utopia and the germ of an institution incompatible with pontifical authority." (1)

Such at heart, however, was the intention of the ringleaders, and it quickly revealed itself, even on the first day, by the enthusiastic reception accorded to the members of the Council, a reception that more befitted a Sovereign power than a simple Council. From the Quirinal to the Vatican, whither they went to hear Mass, every house was dressed with flags, every window with wreaths and crowns. Mass was celebrated at the altar of S. Peter's Chair, and then

(1) Balleydier's "Histoire de la Révolution de Rome", p. 27.

the deputies entered upon their duties. The populace, however, continued to fill the streets, and a crowd of young men, singing patriotic hymns, marched through the town bearing countless banners among which that of Great Britain was conspicuous.

Lord Minto was then at Rome. Though he was England's official representative, public opinion held him to be the officious agent of the Revolution. His residence was consequently the object of many visits and popular manifestations; it was so in a special manner this night, and the English nobleman, appearing on the balcony, answered the cries of "Viva Lord Minto!" with cries of "Viva l'Italia!" "Viva la lega Italiana!" and "Viva Pio Nono!"

From that moment France, which had first induced Pius IX to make concessions, drew back. She began to foresee a revolution at Rome while, in fact, the revolution was actually at the gates of Paris! Meanwhile Italy was stirring, and Switzerland, strong in the secret support of governments, crushed the small Catholic cantons which had dared to maintain their sovereignty and liberty. This triumph of radicalism sounded throughout Europe as the tocsin of the Revolution; the secret societies welcomed it with rapture; and, even in the heart of Rome, the great Catholic capital, they did not fear to publicly applaud this victory of Protestantism.

As a natural consequence the acclamations, which still greeted the appearance of the Pope in public, were mingled with sinister cries, such as: "Down with the Jesuits!" "Death to the reactionaries!" So violent were these cries while Pius IX was driving

on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1848 that the Holy Father fainted. The clubs said he had done so from emotion and gratitude.

Some days afterwards, on the evening of the 11<sup>th</sup> of February, the crowd having again assembled at the Quirinal to ask for the Papal blessing, a voice cried out amid the dead silence: "No more priests in public affairs!" The Pope stopped in the act of blessing and, raising his voice loud enough to be heard all over the Piazza, said: "Certain cries, which do not come from the hearts of our people, are uttered by a few unknown persons; we cannot, may not, and will not listen to them. So, under the express condition that you will be faithful to the Pontiff and the Church" . . . —whereupon the crowd, throwing themselves upon their knees, cried out: "Yes, yes, Holy Father, we swear it!" "Then", went on the Holy Father, "on this condition we pray God to bless you, even as we bless you from our heart." Thousands of heads were then bent to receive his blessing; their hearts were touched, and the old affection of the Roman people for their Pontiffs revived at the loving sound of his voice.

But the Revolution was on the watch. To these pious impressions it hastened to oppose patriotic sentiments. The tricolore banners, red, white and green, of the rioters of 1831 were brought out; and the municipality was persuaded to honour the liberal constitutions which had just been promulgated at Florence, Turin and Naples, by an imposing manifestation. This demonstration assumed an official character from the presence of the city magistrates.

It traversed the illuminated Corso beneath an arcade of banners, amid incoherent shouts which suddenly stopped in front of the Palazzo di Venezia, the residence of the Austrian Ambassador. Here also the torches were lowered in sign of mourning, but before the Gesù they were raised again, accompanied by frantic yells. The Capitol was reached at last and, in presence of the multitude crowding the steps, a man suddenly sprang upon the bronze horse of Marcus Aurelius and placed an immense tricolore flag in the hands of the Imperial philosopher. He was rewarded with loud applause. He cried: "Viva Pio Nono solo!" and the mob re-echoed the cry. "Viva la costituzione!" yelled the desperado; but the crowd was dumb founded, and only a few voices replied, "Viva la costituzione!" (1)

At this very time the cries of "Vive la Réforme!" were being stifled at Paris by cries of "Vive la République!" Berlin, Milan, and Vienna had their barricades; the Revolution was everywhere, confounding all ideas and, under the names of liberty, nationality and independence, turning the heads of the least revolutionary. In this general confusion one thing alone was nearly everywhere respected, one principle alone steadied agitated minds and saved society; this was religion! This respect and the unexpected influence of authority, amid the passions of

(1) A year before this there could not be sufficient honour paid to the Pontifical colours. Enthusiasm in this respect had attained to a ridiculous pitch, if it be true that people insisted on having eggs at every meal because they represented the Papal colours, white and yellow.

the moment, was mainly due to Pius IX, to the popularity of his name, and to the gratitude which his generous efforts had inspired. If Pius IX then failed at Rome, at least he gained over the whole of Europe to the cause of God.

But at Rome passions were rushing to their ruin; and if the reaction, after the days of February, was less violent there than throughout the rest of Italy, it was only because no pretext for violence could be found. The excitement in the city was, however, intense and showed itself, on the 21<sup>st</sup> March, in a shocking outrage upon the arms and flag of Austria. The Imperial escutcheon was torn from the Ambassador's palace by a fanatical crowd, dragged in the gutter, flung upon an ass, and carried to the Piazza del Popolo where it was burnt amid jeers and laughter. At the same time the religious orders, and particularly the Jesuits, were hooted in the streets and even assaulted in their convents. One day a placard was stuck upon the Gesù bearing the words:—"This house to let." "You are doing a cowardly act," cried the Abbé de Mérode, boldly tearing it down before the astonished crowd. Another day frenzied multitudes advanced to attack the Gesù, armed with hatchets and boiling pitch; some sang the Miserere; others cried, "Bring out the winding sheets!" "Open the graves!" or intoned the *De Profundis*. Fortunately there were still some stout-hearted men who saved the wretched city from great evil and deep disgrace. Next day the Jesuits dispersed; the greater number leaving Rome, a few, however, remaining there in hiding. Among those

who offered them an asylum were two French noblemen, the Duc de Cadore and Comte Rampon, and an Englishman, Lord Clifford.

These disgraceful scenes, in which the Revolution was unmasked, required some correctives, and these were found in other cleverly arranged scenes, wherein the greatness and unity of Italy were invoked beneath the shadow of the monuments and the undying memories of ancient Rome. A dinner was given in the Coliseum to celebrate the foundation of the Eternal City; crowds assembled there to listen to popular orators, who, with a tricolore cross on their breasts, called upon the descendants of the "sovereign people" to take up arms against Austria, "a hundred times more barbarous," they said, "than the Moslems"; and they actually ventured to revive against this Christian people the cry of the Crusaders at Clermont, "God wills it! God wills it!"

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of March 1848 a renegade monk, named Gavazzi, addressed a dense mass of infuriated patriots in the Coliseum: "Brethren!" he cried, "the day of deliverance is at hand! The hour of the holy crusade has struck! God wills it! To arms! He who refuses to conquer or to die for the independence of Italy is not worthy to call himself a descendant of the masters of the world; she who keeps back her lover deserves not to be called Roman or to bear children for her country . . . Romans! Your ancestors conquered the world; will you be worthy of them?" "Yes, yes," cried the crowd; and the monk went on: "Look at these pediments, these shafts of columns, these ancient ruins; they are all

so many slabs which our birth-place offers to you on which to inscribe the names of the valiant and the brave . . . And now, Romans, be up and doing! Beneath the vault of that heaven which sheds its brightest rays on you, in the presence of that God who sees and reads our hearts, before this symbolic cross, emblem of liberty, upon this soil watered by the blood of saints, swear not to re-enter Rome until you have slaughtered the last of the barbarians."

Other orators followed; enthusiasm grew rampant, and the excited mob hurried to the Quirinal to demand the Pontiff's blessing on the standard that was to "lead the brave to victory".

Pius IX did not appear on the balcony, and he would only consent to bless the standard within his apartments on condition that it should not be borne across the frontiers. But the Clubs cared little for the Pope's wishes. The standard went forth; it was borne across the frontiers; it met the Austrian standard at Cornuda and Vicenza, and, in spite of the gallantry of its bearers, returned ingloriously to Rome.

Nevertheless Pius IX did his utmost to allay excitement and to prevent any conflict. The Council of State had been replaced by a Legislative Body formed by two Chambers; the natural result of the general commotion caused by the Revolution of February. But the Italians wanted more; they insisted that the Pope should declare war against Austria. This Pius IX formally and decisively refused to do. In his admirable Encyclical of the 29<sup>th</sup> of April he said:—"As, in spite of our unworthiness, we fill



on earth the place of Him who is the Author of peace and the Friend of charity, and in fidelity to the different obligations of our supreme apostleship, we embrace all countries, all peoples and all nations with an equal feeling of fatherly love."

Thereupon the secret societies determined to impose a ministry on the Pope in which no priest should find a place. In order to gain this end they fomented disturbances at the several residences of the Cardinals. The General Commandant of the Civic Guard, Prince Rospigliosi, a man of noble heart and illustrious name, exerted all his energy to suppress the agitation; but his authority was disregarded, one of the guards even went so far as to present his bayonet at the General's breast, and the Prince, finding himself powerless, tendered his resignation.

Meanwhile the disturbances went on increasing. A voice even suggested a massacre of the priests; and, though this horrible proposal was rejected by the Clubs, an ultimatum was drawn up and presented to the Holy Father. Without accepting it Pius IX thought it necessary, in the interests of peace, to form a lay ministry, the most important member of which was that same Count Mamiani, who, alone among the proscribed of the late reign, had refused to accept the pardon of the 15<sup>th</sup> of July 1846.

The new ministry claimed to confine the Pope merely to his spiritual functions. "He prays, blesses and pardons," said Count Mamiani in the Legislative Chambers which met on the 5<sup>th</sup> of June. Replying to the deputies who approached him with an address, Pius IX said: "If the Pontiff prays, blesses and

pardons, it also belongs to him to bind and to loose; and if, for the purpose of providing more effectually for the safeguarding and the consolidation of the public interests, the Prince has summoned the Chambers to work with him, the Pontiff requires absolute liberty of action in all that he considers necessary to be done for the welfare of religion and the State. This liberty must be intact."

In spite of every effort made on the part of his Ministers, the Pope protested against any declaration of war. What, indeed, had been the result of that war so lightly undertaken after the mad declaration in the Coliseum? A great number of volunteers had taken to flight at Cornuda, and the rest had forsaken the heights of Vicenza after gallantly fighting for two days. The die had been cast; the Austrians had crossed the Po; the Imperial standard floated over Ferrara; and, to console herself for these reverses, Rome received her vanquished army as of old she had welcomed her victorious legions. The troops returning from Vicenza, the "Reduci di Vicenza" as they were called, made their entry into Rome, crowned with laurel, beneath showers of flowers. Houses were decked with flags; trumpets sounded victorious notes; a banquet was spread for the legion in the courtyard of the Doria Palace; after which the troops assaulted the Gesù, and, finding it empty, turned it into their head quarters. Thence their power was felt over the whole city.

This had been a very small victory after such hopes and bravado; another was wanted to revive their blighted courage, and to shake off "that torpor

to which we are so much inclined," said Count Mamiani, "not indeed by nature, but from our habits of slavery and sham." (1) So, in default of a real victory, Mamiani had the strange idea of inventing one, doubtless as a consequence of that habit of sham about which he complained so much. On the 30<sup>th</sup> July, therefore, a courier rode full speed into Rome by the Porta del Popolo, and galloped down the Corso crying, "Victory!" He reported that the Piedmontese army had defeated the Austrians, and that the whole of Italy was about to be freed from the Barbarians. Demonstrations were at once organized; the mob assembled beneath the windows of the Sardinian Envoy, and, in spite of his ambiguous words, everyone applauded the imaginary victory of his King; the streets were forthwith illuminated, the churches visited, and bellringing and firing continued far into the night.

Next day an attempt was made to compel the clergy to sing a *Te Deum*. But a voice cried out:—"Brothers, there has been a terrible mistake, an unexampled perfidy! The *Te Deum* is not going to be sung in honour of a Piedmontese victory, but for Radetsky's victory. Rome and her people are being mocked!" (2)

Charles Albert had in fact suffered, on the 24<sup>th</sup> July, the irreparable defeat of Custoza which at one blow shattered all his hopes. This news, following

(1) Mamiani's circular quoted by Balleydier in his "*Histoire de la Révolution de Rome*", t. II, p. 362.

(2) "*L'Italie rouge*", p. 73.

upon the former, served to redouble the warlike fever, which no doubt had been the end in view. The Chambers sent a deputation to the Quirinal to demand a declaration of war. Pius IX remained inflexible and ended by adjourning the session of the Legislative Assembly, whose votes were all for war, to the 15<sup>th</sup> November.

The Chambers separated on the 27<sup>th</sup> August, and on the following day Pius IX sought some consolation, amid the trials which afflicted him, by the beatification of several servants of God. On this occasion the venerable Pontiff declared:— "This consolation is all the greater inasmuch as into this Italy, once so Catholic and the centre of Christianity, they have dared to introduce Protestantism. Those who are its abettors, while pretending to be enthusiastic for Italian unity, are not ashamed to resort to an abominable method which must necessarily destroy it. They claim to obtain the unity of the country by sowing seeds of division in the bosom of the unity of faith. Behold whither leads the blindness of passion!"

John Müller wrote: "Without the Popes, Rome would cease to exist." They have saved her by the hierarchy and unity of which they are the centre. In the words of Louis Veuillot:— "The heart of Italy is the Catholic faith." (1)

But the great nationality of the faith disappeared before the eyes of the Clubs in favour of a purely material nationality (2); that was all they sought

(1) "Rome et Lorette", t. I, p. 373.

(2) Yet one of these Clubs, the Società Popolare, M. de Corcelle tells us, had dared to name Christ as its President.

for, all they desired; and Montanelli who, by an insurrection, had been forced as Minister on the Grand Duke of Tuscany, loudly called for a convocation of Italian representatives. This assembly, elected by all the Italian States, was to have the direction of war, and the drawing up of a federal and liberal compact among the different governments of the peninsula. The authority of the Holy Father would thus become absorbed in a policy at the mercy of every caprice of bold and unstable majorities. Therefore the Pope could not consent to it. But where was he to find a support amid all the weakness around him? He thought he had discovered it in Count Rossi, an able diplomatist, who was not likely to incur the suspicions of the liberals, having from his youth been one of their most distinguished pupils. An old Italian exile, formerly a member of the State Council of the Protestant Republic of Geneva, and Louis-Philippe's Ambassador to Rome on a mission against the Jesuits, Count Rossi had since declined to take part with the February conquerors. But when the Revolution broke out in Italy and took for its watchword "War against Austria", all his Italian enthusiasm revived and he sent one of his sons to join the volunteers on the Adige. "God be praised," he wrote to a lady friend, "we have seen the heart of this Italy, always beautiful, but cold and inanimate, beat once more with the pulse of life, the blood return to her cheeks, and strength to her arm, and her first act has been a combat, a victory, a marvel!" (He refers to the early successes of Charles Albert.) "As a woman you have wept for joy and admiration, and I, man

though I be (and let those laugh who please), have wept like you!" (1)

But Rossi understood men too well, he had taken part in too many important affairs, to give way to illusions; he had also seen the Papacy too close to permit him to act unjustly against it. Therefore he conceived the idea of an Italian Confederation, which, while maintaining the unity of the peninsula, would, however, respect the laws and constitution of each State. The Pope preserved his authority over S. Peter's patrimony, and his administrative independence remained intact. He was, in addition, the head of the Confederation, thus stamping it with an entirely religious and conservative character. "The Supreme Pontificate", said Rossi, "is the sole grandeur left standing, which, being left to Italy, attracts the respect and homage of the Catholic world to her." (2)

Such expressions could not be forgiven by the Clubs. The Minister's plan, whatever other opinion may be formed about it now, clearly meant a rupture with radicalism. The revolution felt it was struck to the heart, and Rossi's death was decreed.

He, meanwhile, intrepidly pushed forward his scheme. He obtained 22,000,000 lire from the clergy, and prepared the civil reorganization of the Roman States. Rossi never doubted, nor did the Romans, that he would succeed in influencing the Chambers.

(1) Quoted by M. Lafond in his "Lettres d'un Pèlerin", t. I, p. 593.

(2) M. de Corcelle also very justly remarks: "The Papacy is the very dignity of a great portion of the human race." (Correspondant, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1856, p. 673.)

by his eloquence and logical reasoning. Bold, nay haughty, Rossi was not a man to be frightened. "To reach the Pope," he said one day, "they must pass over my corpse." The struggle was imminent.

One of the criminal agents of the Revolution, Sterbini, began the attack in the press; he pointed to Rossi as a man of that school which "creates occasions for bombarding, burning and destroying great capitals," and which cleverly knows how to urge on the people to seditious deeds "in order to be able to crush and enslave them afterwards." Rossi replied:—"All the world knows that there are some praises which insult, some censures which honour."

The opening of the Chambers drew near, and the day of the opening, the 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1848, had been appointed by the Clubs for the assassination of Rossi. Already the Abbé Ximenes had been stabbed in the streets. One of the secret articles of the Young Italy organization ran:—"If the condemned victim succeeds in escaping he shall be followed, without respite, into every place, and the guilty shall be struck by an invisible hand, even though he may have taken refuge in his mother's arms or within the tabernacle of Christ." (1) Rossi was therefore certainly doomed.

During the night of the 14<sup>th</sup> of November a certain number of young men met in a room at the Capranica Theatre, where they practised the deed upon a corpse. When they made sure of dividing the jugular vein at the first stroke, they arranged

(1) Quoted by Balleydier, t. I, p. XVIII.

the part each should play, and made an appointment for the morrow.

Next morning Rossi received a note from a French lady, the Comtesse de Menou, then residing at Rome, which said:— "Take care not to go to the Legislative Palace; death awaits you there." "Do not go out, if you do you will be assassinated," wrote the Duchessa di Rignano. Rossi, however, went to see the Pope, who entreated him to take every precaution to prevent "our enemies committing a great crime and causing us a great sorrow. Your life is in danger." "They are too cowardly," replied Rossi, "they dare not." "May God grant it", returned the Holy Father, "meanwhile receive the blessing we give you with all our soul."

As Rossi descended the Quirinal staircase a priest stopped him and said:— "If you go to the Cancelleria you are a dead man; the conspirators are at their post, the dagger awaits you." "The Pope's cause is the cause of God," answered the Minister, "let us go."

Sixty men of doubtful aspect, closely wrapped in cloaks, were in fact waiting in the courtyard of the Cancelleria which then served as a palace for the Legislative Body. These men surrounded the Minister, hooting him, and forming a lane for him as he descended from his carriage. Rossi, giving them a glance of contempt, advanced without showing a trace of fear. One of them touched him on the left shoulder from behind, Rossi looked round, thus disclosing the jugular vein to the assassin who was on



his right. The blow was struck by a sure hand; Rossi sank to the ground, then raised himself again, staggered a few steps, and fell for the last time in a pool of his own blood. (1)

The assassins had posted themselves unopposed at the Cancelleria; they in like manner withdrew unchallenged; even the Chamber did not consider the matter of sufficient importance to interrupt the order of the day. The members of the Diplomatic Body who were present at the sitting could not conceal their indignation. "It is infamous," said the Duc d'Harcourt, the French Ambassador, "let us withdraw at once, so as not to be accomplices in such brutality."

But this was not the end of the infamy; for, while a French priest, Père François Vaures, was attending to the lifeless body of Rossi and consoling his family, the horrible rabble were parading the streets carrying the murderer in triumph, and exhibiting the dagger attached to their banner, while they shouted, "*Benedetta la mano che Rossi pugnaldò!*"

These wretches, after traversing the town, halted before the widow's house, shouting out their cruel cry, and waving the flag and dagger before her windows as Mde. de Lamballe's head had formerly been exhibited before the windows of the Temple.

(1) The Cancelleria Palace, one of Bramante's masterpieces, is not far distant from the spot where Pompey's Curia stood, which recalls another Republican assassination, that of Caesar. It is even said that the granite columns of the portico of the Cancelleria formed part of Pompey's hundred columned portico.

This sad day was to be followed by an equally distressing morrow. The Revolution had passed over the body of the minister; it now desired to reach the Pope. Who was there left in whom Pius IX could trust? Even his Carabineers had been seduced, some of them having actually been seen in the ranks of the scoundrels who had inflicted the grossest stigma of crime upon the Holy City.

Accordingly, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of November, a lawless mob, reinforced by Carabineers and troops of the line, gathered at the Quirinal in order to compel the Pope to accept a democratic ministry and the convocation of an Italian Constituent Assembly. The Pope had only seventy Swiss Guards for his protection and the moral support of the Ambassadors of France, Bavaria, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Holland, and Russia, who had hastened to his assistance at the first news of the outbreak. A very few devoted men had joined them, among whom were some Frenchmen, including the Comte de Malesherbes and Père Vaures.

The Pope replied to the demands made upon him that he would take advice, whereupon the tumult increased; Pius IX then protested more energetically against the conditions proposed by the rebels. The Duc d'Harcourt, on behalf of France, and Martinez de la Rosa, on behalf of Spain, joined their protests with those of the Holy Father. "Know, Sirs," cried Martinez de la Rosa, "that the sovereigns will not allow to pass unpunished a sacrilege which has been actually consummated by the impious threats of a rabble without either faith or laws."

Meanwhile the attack was about to begin: Cardinal Antonelli charged the Swiss Guards to defend the gates to the last extremity, and to retire step by step to the Pope's apartment. "We shall be there," he added, "to die with you."

The struggle began: firing was heard; one shot, aimed from the belfry of S. Carlo, killed Mgr. Palma, secretary of Latin letters, another broke the windows of the Pope's chamber; the entrance to the Via Pia was set on fire; and, while this was proceeding, a provisional government, at the head of which were Sterbini and the Prince of Canino, one of the chief instigators of these troubles, was being organized at a café whence all orders were issued.

In this extremity Pius IX, to prevent bloodshed, decided to submit to a democratic ministry; but at the same time he protested to the ambassadors that henceforth he would take no part, even nominally, in the government.

From that moment Christ's Vicar was nothing better than a prisoner in his palace. His seventy faithful Swiss Guards were disarmed, and replaced by a civic guard who kept jealous watch over his movements. Europe, however, had good cause to be seriously alarmed at the Pope's subjection. The Diplomatic Body projected a plan of escape; but Pius IX feared his departure might bring worse troubles on Rome. He was still undecided when, on the evening of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November, a parcel and letter were handed to him from the Bishop of Valence in Dauphiné. This parcel contained the small box which Pius VI had used during the last

journeys of his exile, in order to carry the Blessed Eucharist always on his person. The Bishop of Valence presented this precious relic to "the heir of the name, the seat, the virtues, the courage, and almost the tribulations of the great Pontiff." (1) This pious gift, coming from the city where Pius VI had died to that Quirinal which had become the prison of Pius IX, seemed to convey a message from God. Pius IX gave way and consented to quit Rome.

As in order to do this it was necessary to deceive the guards, the French Ambassador came to the palace on the evening of the 24<sup>th</sup> and stayed a long while closeted with the Pontiff. Meanwhile Pius IX put on the costume of a simple priest and covered his eyes with dark spectacles; then, accompanied by a single attendant, he passed through the long corridors of the Conclave apartments and reached the isolated door of the Quattro Fontane, where a carriage was in waiting. "Good-bye, M. l'Abbé," said the attendant in such a manner as to be heard by the sentries, and the carriage drove rapidly down the Quirinal to the Coliseum and on to the gate of S. John Lateran, whence it dashed at full speed in the direction of Albano. Count de Spaur, the Bavarian Ambassador, had joined the Pope near the Coliseum, while his wife, the Countess, on her part, awaited him in the valley of Aricia. (2) Having provided herself

(1) Letter from Mgr. Pierre Chatrouse, Bishop of Valence.

(2) The Countess de Spaur, whose maiden name was Giraud, belonged to a Roman family of French extraction. She took a leading part in the plan of escape.

with passports, she had left Rome some hours before in a travelling carriage drawn by four post horses. Just as the Pope joined her, a patrol of Carabineers halted before the travellers. Realizing the danger, the Countess cried out: "So it is you at last, Doctor; you have kept us waiting a long time." Thereupon the Carabineers not only let the Pope enter the carriage but actually put up the steps, and the horses went off at full gallop towards Terracina. The carriage contained the Holy Father, the Countess, young Maximilian de Spaur, her son, and his tutor. The Count de Spaur and a servant occupied the seat behind. On finding herself next the successor of the Apostle, the Countess said: "Most Holy Father, pardon your unworthy servant if necessity has obliged her to sit at your side, an honour she does not deserve." The Pope replied: "This day you are an instrument of Providence in carrying out its mysterious designs. Fear nothing, God is with us."

Next day Pius IX arrived at Gaeta, where, in the absence of the Bishop, he was refused admittance to the Palace and, as no one recognised him, he could only find shelter in a poor tavern, l'Albergo del Giardinetto. But twenty-four hours had not elapsed before the King of Naples, with all his family, threw himself at his feet, and the Ambassadors of most of the European Powers were within the walls of Gaeta.

For nearly a year the attention and respect of the world were concentrated upon this forgotten rock lying outside the beaten tracks of Italy. Among the curiosities of Gaeta is a celebrated column with

twelve sides, bearing the names of the winds in Greek and Latin. Now from every quarter of the globe the winds bore the good wishes and homage of every nation to "this sweet shore", as the poet called it. Hadrian had left memories of his princely pleasures in this spot; Scipio and Lælius of their frivolous amusements; and Pius IX was to leave the impress of his virtues and mysterious greatness, which had never been more marked than now. M. de Corcelle has written: "It was my good fortune, in 1848 and 1849, to have the duty of conveying the sympathies of France to Pius IX. On the first occasion it was but a few days after the assassination of his minister and the murderous assault on the Quirinal. Never, amid the most sanguinary passions, did I once detect in that gentle soul a feeling which was not that of an afflicted parent, without a trace of bitterness against his most cruel enemies, but constantly recalling, by his language, those last words of Pius VI: 'Ignosce illis.' Trusting in the cross, filled with the divine responsibility of his heritage, careful to preserve the independence of the Church and with it the truest liberty of all nations; yet conciliatory in all things that were consistent with this invincible firmness . . . rather disposed to add to his own difficulties than to refuse that which might spare some to other States. Thus did he appear in his besieged palace, gentle, calm, strong in that courage which never forsakes the Apostles and Pontiffs; thus he appeared at Gaeta . . . of an unvarying grace and goodness, merciful to his misguided children, and with a heart always

ready to bless and truly filled with the Holy Spirit." (1)

At Rome the revolutionaries affected indifference on learning the news of the Pope's departure, and the true sentiments of the people were kept under from fear. The Pope nominated a Commission to carry on the government; but those composing it were not even allowed to assume office. On its side Parliament, refusing to convoke a Constituent Assembly, was dissolved by the Ministry and the Clubs; the Municipality resigned and a despotism, at once lawless and disorderly, oppressed the city.

Pius IX protested, threatened excommunication, and his decrees were placarded, in spite of the revolutionists, and publicly read in the churches. The elections for the Constituent Assembly were held on the 21<sup>st</sup> of January, Pius IX forbidding all participation in them. But the Clubs had recourse to every means, exhortations, threats, amusements, music, in order to bring up the electors. The voting-booths were, however, often empty, and it required two days to collect 20,000 votes, many of which were given for Pius IX, S. Peter, and members of the Commission appointed by the Pope.

Still, as might have been expected, the revolutionists who controlled the elections obtained a majority, and the elected fully justified their choice. From the very first day the Assembly declared itself sovereign and, during the night of the 8<sup>th</sup> of February 1849, proclaimed the Papacy deprived

(1) "Correspondant", t. XXXVIII, p. 673.

*de jure* and *de facto* of the government of the Roman States. The Pontifical government was replaced by a pure democracy which assumed the style of the Roman Republic.

The Republic was saluted by the cannon of the Castle of S. Angelo; in the streets it was celebrated by the adoption of the red cap of liberty; furthermore a *Te Deum* was required; but the Canons of S. Peter's refused to take part in it, so the canticle of S. Ambrose was sung by the chaplain of a regiment assisted by twelve officers bearing candles.—“They had better have selected the *De Profundis*,” said the people.

Thus was born for a day that Republic which was styled by its founders “virginal and bloodless.” What mattered to them the blood of Ximenes, of Palma, or of Rossi?—“Citizens!” they cried, “you have become once more the Romans of antiquity. Wherever your banner shall float, the shade of Brutus will quiver and the eye of Marius flash fire.” (1)

The Assembly had handed the executive power over to a Triumvirate, over which presided Armellini, an old consistorial advocate whose hair had grown white in the service of the Papacy, and who said with emphasis to the Representatives: “You are seated between the graves of two civilizations; that of the Italy of the Cæsars and that of the Italy of the Popes.” No one is ignorant of the wonders produced by these two civilizations. Let us now take note

(1) Speech by the Minister of War.



of the third at work:— 21<sup>st</sup> of February, confiscation of ecclesiastical property, of that property which had made Rome the museum and school of Europe;— 24<sup>th</sup>, a forced loan on the rich;— 25<sup>th</sup>, issue of debased coinage; by another vote, church bells were to be turned into cannon; and brigandage was rampant. (1) The priests of S. Vincent de Paul were driven from their house on Monte-Citorio and from their monastery of S. Silvestro; the French ladies of the Good Shepherd were compelled to take to flight; and the monasteries of SS. Vincenzo-ed-Anastasio, Gesù-Maria, S. Andrea-delle-Fratte, S. Marcello, and S. Agostino were turned into barracks. Pillage was organized in the churches, under the name of inventories; the relics from the Catacombs, found in the palace of the Cardinal-Vicar, were profaned; and Protestant Bibles were spread in profusion throughout the great Catholic capital.

The Revolution, however, did not intend to break openly with Catholicism, the influence of which it feared. It even went so far, of its own accord, as to sing hymns of thanksgiving whilst despoiling and insulting it. When Easter Day drew nigh, failing to obtain the services from the Canons of S. Peter's,

(1) "After 1849", says M. de Corcelle, "a commission effected the restitution of 2,815 objects stolen from museums, public collections, and private houses." One of the directors of the defence of Rome was found in possession of 2,134 volumes stolen from a library, a collection of valuable arms taken from a foreign Princess residing at Rome, and a quantity of lace belonging to the churches. "Correspondant", t. XXXVIII, pp. 666 and 724.

it fined them each 120 crowns (about £ 26) and had recourse to a suspended priest to replace the Pope. This priest dared to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice at the altar reserved for S. Peter's successor, and the Mass was said accompanied by every external pomp of worship, the Basilica having probably never before presented a more magnificent appearance. The faithful, who were absent, were replaced by members of the Clubs. The celebrant, bent on imitating the Pope to the end, subsequently proceeded to the pontifical balcony, to that same spot where a year before Pius IX had been seen, with the Blessed Sacrament in his hands, blessing the city.

Rome was, however, accountable to 200 millions of Catholics for the duties as well as for the advantages attaching to her title of the Christian capital. A Congress was opened at Gaeta for the purpose of concerting, to adopt M. Thiers' phrase, "the re-establishment of an authority necessary to the Christian universe." (1) Naturally France was represented at it; but her position as a Republic, and the dominant influences of an Assembly wherein the majority was uncertain, did not leave her the free and decided course that was open to the other Catholic Powers. Common action with Austria and Naples would have awakened in her midst more than one prejudice. Finally, among politicians who, at one time or another, had thought of intervening, the ends and motives were very different. Some saw in Pius IX "a most highly respectable man";

(1) Sitting of the Chamber of Representatives, 30<sup>th</sup> March 1849.

while others looked upon the Pontiff as representing "the living religion".

To prevent the intervention of Austria, and to counterbalance her influence in Italy, was the main object of some who went in for a policy of half measures. In regard to the temporal power of the Papacy, it might be left, in Italy as in France, to the uncertain results of popular election.

But God's finger was there! The French Republic, which had been the first to proclaim the Roman Republic in 1798, now undertook its destruction in 1849; and the nephew of the man who had dragged Pius VII from the Quirinal was to bear Pius IX back in triumph to that Palace. It was French history repeating itself; "Gesta Dei per Francos."

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1849, a French army, commanded by General Oudinot, Duke of Reggio, left Toulon on board a steam-fleet; on the morning of the 25<sup>th</sup> it entered Civita-Vecchia, without having fired a shot, and three days later set out to march on Rome.

Meanwhile, in that city, the Assembly was issuing a multitude of decrees: on the 12<sup>th</sup> April it declared the Po "a national river"; on the 14<sup>th</sup> it swore, "in the name of God and of the people, that the fatherland should be saved"; then, as the danger approached, Rome was divided into sections under the command of the most fanatical revolutionists, and various committees were appointed to take charge of the defence of the city, such as the Committee of Administration, the Committee of Barricades, and even a Committee of Orators charged with the function of kindling the fire of patriotism at street corners.

These gutter Ciceros cried out: "The dwarfs of France have blasphemed the demi-gods of Rome. Battle and vengeance!" (1)

These proclamations were none too many, for sympathy with France was daily increasing, not only among the masses but also in the ranks of the Civic Guard and the troops of the line, as the emissaries of General Oudinot quickly discovered. They even declared to him that "it was urgent" that the expeditionary force should at once appear before the walls of Rome; while the French representatives at Gaeta held the same language. In consequence the General, without awaiting his reinforcements and with less than 4,000 men and no artillery, directed a reconnaissance on Rome.

He considered himself called thither, which would doubtless have been the case even if Garibaldi, the adventurer from Nice, had not entered the city, at the head of 1500 fanatics, on the morning of the 27<sup>th</sup>. From that moment Rome was no longer herself. Peopled with refugees from every land, who made her their stronghold, she was governed by the Genoese Mazzini, commanded by Garibaldi, and defended by Northern Italians, French, Hungarians, and Poles, dregs from the barricades of most of the capitals of Europe. The loyalty of the Civic Guard being suspected it was disarmed. So, instead of the friendly welcome he had been promised, Oudinot was received with bullets and shot, and was compelled to retire before this unexpected resistance.

(1) Balleydier's "*Histoire de la Révolution de Rome*", t. II, p. 36.

The engagement took place at the Porta Cavalleggieri and along the road which runs from it to the Porta Angelica. On the right, from the Porta S. Pancrazio Roman troops issued waving white handkerchiefs and crying: "Peace is declared; enemies this morning, we are brothers this evening." Firing had in fact ceased all along the line. The 250 men, whom the French had collected at this point, were deceived by these demonstrations of friendship and followed the Romans into the city; but they had scarcely passed the ramparts when they were disarmed. Three of them were afterwards fired upon in the streets, and the worst wounded of the three, without either boots, shako or tunic, was forced to run a great distance before he reached the hospital in which he died.

These disgraceful violations of the law of nations were of a nature to arouse all right-minded people. The triumvirs, Mazzini, Saffi and Armellini, were not slow in realizing this, and soon inveigling kindness took the place of shots and insults. The French prisoners were surrounded and petted, gold and promotion were promised them as rewards for treason, and, on their inflexible refusal, they were sent with many embraces and cries of "Long live the French Republic! Long live the Roman Republic!" to the headquarters of the Duke of Reggio. "Thus do we send apostles among the expeditionary force," said Mazzini, adding, "the news from Paris is good."

In fact the news was only too good for the revolutionists. The tidings of the repulse on the 30<sup>th</sup> April had encouraged the dissentients in the French Constituent Assembly, and, at the very time

the Roman Republicans were placarding their walls with:— "The friends of Scævola have driven Porsenna to flight; Roman history is not yet ended" — the Assembly was not ashamed to celebrate its last day by a vote of disapproval of the march on Rome. Better inspired, the President of the Republic wrote to General Oudinot:— "Our honour is at stake; I shall allow it to receive no harm; you shall not want for reinforcements." Unfortunately this letter was brought by M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, who, by his shuffling phrases, expressed only too clearly the painful divergences of French opinion.

M. de Lesseps began by agreeing to an armistice and by refusing to allow the French army to co-operate with the Neapolitan army, then advancing on Albano and restoring the Papal flag along its march. The King of Naples then decided on returning to his own dominions, and the Romans, taking advantage of the armistice which protected them from a French attack, sought to cut off his retreat. Attacking him at Velletri, they sought to turn his position; but, after eight hours' fighting, the royal army was neither cut off nor damaged. Next day it quietly resumed its march. This desperate combat on both sides, in which the Republican Generals had failed to carry out their plan, was notwithstanding celebrated as a victory.

France, meanwhile, remained passive. A nerveless and undignified diplomacy daily abandoned to Roman tyranny the advantages which had been gained. The weaker the French appeared, the greater became the insolence of the enemy. They disdainfully rejected all French advances, and still M. de Lesseps went on

yielding, until the generals, disgusted at a new scheme he proposed, refused to submit any longer to his weak-minded inactivity.

Disavowed in the camp M. de Lesseps was equally so at Paris, where he could no longer find help from the vacillating Assembly. A more united Assembly had replaced it and a spirit of decision had succeeded to deplorable hesitation. M. de Corcelle became its worthy representative to the army and Pius IX.

Terror, meanwhile, continued to reign in Rome. Cardinals' carriages and confessionals from the churches were burned on the Piazza del Popolo; fanaticism reached to such a pitch that M. de Lesseps himself was not sure of his life. He openly complained that he was "marked for the dagger," and, on leaving, declared that Mazzini was a traitor. A band of custom-house officers, headed by Zambianchi, had stationed themselves at S. Calisto, and there carried out murders on behalf of the Republic. Among the victims was the venerable parish-priest of La Minerva. In one day fourteen priests were massacred by this band of assassins.

These abominations were, however, drawing to a close. For the space of a month the Triumvirs had been able to receive numerous contingents of refugees and to strengthen their defences. The French troops had been compelled to inactivity; but, at last, on the morning of the 1<sup>st</sup> of June they were free to fight. Their battalions stretched from Monte-Mario to the Basilica of S. Paul; headquarters were stationed at the Villas Santucci and Negrone on the road which leads to the Porta Portese near the Tiber.

A bridge had been thrown across this river in front of S. Passera, and the French cavalry scoured the roads to Florence and Naples. With only 23,000 men the French could not surround the city, and to oppose them were 28,000 fanatics, fighting behind ramparts and assured of a safe retreat behind the barricades which were thrown across the streets.

The first attack of the French was delivered against the Villas Pamfili and Corsini which crown the Janiculum. The assault was well sustained, the defence desperate. But the Lombard volunteers, in spite of all their gallantry, could save neither their post nor their colours. The French next carried the church of S. Pancrazio, which was held by Garibaldi himself with his best troops. Finally, on the left, Ponte-Molle fell into the hands of the assailants.

Next day, the 2<sup>nd</sup> June, trenches were opened at a distance of 300 metres, and, in spite of gallant sorties, steady progress was made with the siege. The French had only sixteen cannon; yet shortly after they were mounted they opened a breach in the bastions which formed the first defence, half way between the Porta Portese and the Porta S. Pancrazio; and, in the evening, the bastions were carried by columns of attack. Success had been complete, but a second line of defence opposed the besiegers. Consequently the works had to be renewed, and fire was directed on a formidable bastion which flanked the Porta S. Pancrazio, in front of S. Pietro-in-Montorio and the Fontana Paolina. On the evening of the 29<sup>th</sup> the breach was declared practicable, and, by the light of illuminations on S. Peter's dome in honour



of the Apostle's Feast, the French troops carried the bastion by main force, and held possession of it, in spite of the desperate efforts of the enemy to retake it. At sunrise the city of Rome lay at their feet; in the pithy words of General Vaillant, "they had taken the bull by the horns."

Still the besieged might have defended themselves behind the Tiber; but, at best, this would only have retarded their defeat by a few days. This the Republican Assembly understood; so, after a few vain attempts at reconciliation, it accepted the inevitable. The French at once took possession of every outlet, from the Porta del Popolo to that of S. Paolo; and, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> July, at 5 in the afternoon, the main body of the French Army with the staff entered through the Porta Portese, with bands playing, and marching by Trastevere, Ponte Sisto, and the Piazza Farnese, reached the Corso, the hotbed of the Clubs and rebels. This peaceable entry contrasted greatly with that made by Bourbon's followers; and the reception was also very different. The Trasteverini looked upon the French as deliverers; handkerchiefs were waved, and cries were raised of "Viva la Francia!" But, on the other bank of the Tiber, fear still predominated and the frequenters of the Clubs continued to throng the streets threatening death to sympathisers with the French. They said:— "It is with the silence of the tomb that Romans should receive their oppressors." So doors were shut and windows closed, in terror of the dagger which had laid Rossi low.

The Café of Fine Arts displayed an enormous tricolore, surmounted with a red cap; three light

infantry men took possession of it, amid some hisses and cries, which increased when the Piazza Colonna was reached, where Cernuschi, the President of the Barricade Committee, had taken his stand at the head of some rioters. General Oudinot rode his horse towards them and they dispersed.

Thus ended the Roman Revolution. It began with, to use M. de Falloux's happy phrase, "the conspiracy of triumphs" and it ended with the illumination of S. Peter's. This hypocritical homage to the Apostle was to be its last falsehood.

At the very time the French troops were making their solemn entry into Rome, M. de Corcelle, the political representative of France, was ordering the opening of the gates of the Holy Office in order to free the prisoners of the revolutionary "inquisition." He thus records the fact:— "We crossed a courtyard planted with orange trees and jasmine, which did not appear to me to accord with the description given by chroniclers . . . I still possess, as a souvenir, a leaf torn from the gaol book, on which may be read, alongside the names:— 'For sympathy shown to the French Army.'"

A few days later, three priests were stabbed for having pointed out the way to some French soldiers; and a bloody yoke still weighed upon the city. Furthermore, the uncertainty prevailing as to the intentions of the conquerors added to the public anxiety; but, at last, the French realised that respect for the people's sovereignty resulted too frequently in establishing a reign of terror. Indeed the town was so panic stricken that none dared fill the places

of the fallen authorities, until a brave citizen, Prince Odescalchi, undertook to reconstruct the municipality; and, when it was known that the standard of S. Peter was to be definitely replaced upon the Capitol, the entire Roman population responded with cheers to this action of France.

The 15<sup>th</sup> of July will remain in history as one of the greatest and happiest of Rome's days. It had been decided that on that day Pontifical authority should be officially restored, and that a *Te Deum* should be sung at S. Peter's. At these tidings the city rejoiced; streets were adorned with hangings and flowers; and the French troops were received with enthusiastic cheering as they marched to the Basilica.

At the same time 101 cannon saluted the Papal flag, as it fluttered once more over the Capitol; and General Oudinot, who was received by the clergy under the portico of S. Peter's, advanced, between two lines of French soldiers, into the vast church which was crowded with the Roman people.

After the *Te Deum*, and the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, Cardinal Tosti congratulated the General who was much moved and replied in an appropriate speech, which concluded with "*Evviva la Religione! Evviva il Santo Padre!*" Cardinal Tosti added: "*Evviva la Francia!*" Then the whole populace joining in, the august Basilica resounded with ten thousand cheers of "*Evviva il Santo Padre! Evviva Pio Nono! Evviva la Francia!*"

Pius IX re-entered Rome on the 12<sup>th</sup> of April 1850. The Revolutionary faction continued to

agitate; it kept up its rallying cries, lists of proscribed, anonymous threats, and secret attacks; and the populace feared it. But, at the sight of the Pope, all fears gave way to joy; and, from the Lateran Gate to S. Peter's, Pius IX's progress was one continued triumph. At night all Rome was illuminated; not a street or shop was without its blaze of light; S. Peter's glittered as it had done on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June, and these rejoicings lasted three days.

Rome, in spite of her trials and of her weaknesses, still possessed examples of sanctity. Gaspard de Buffalo, who was born at Rome in 1786 and died there in 1837, renewed the apostleship of saints. For thirty years he preached the Gospel to the States of the Church, and now the Congregation of the Precious Blood, which he founded, preaches it to the world.

Two other Congregations, between 1838 and 1842, left Rome for England. One of these, the Congregation of the Passionists instituted by Blessed Paul of the Cross towards the end of the last century, has a Monastery at Rome under the title of SS. John and Paul, and it was from this house on the Cælian Hill, close to the spot where Gregory the Great had lived, that these missionaries, clad in black, with rosaries attached to their belts and bearing a blue heart with the legend "Jesu Christi Passio" on their breasts, set out for the British Isles. They were led by Father Dominic of the Mother of God, who was born near Rome, and the son of an English Earl, George Spencer was among this band.

The second Congregation, that of the Brothers of Charity founded at Rome by the Abbate Rosmini, has spread throughout England; among those who have conducted its labours being Fathers Gentili and Ridolfi. Rome had her representatives in every corner of England; and several of the most eminent and distinguished men of the ancient "Island of the Saints" have added to the honour of Rome. Among these have been Cardinals Weld and Wiseman, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Shrewsbury, O'Connell, and those famous converts, Newman, Oakeley, Wilberforce, Faber, and Manning. Most of these great Catholics went to Rome, where they left some pious memories, particularly at the English College, which was being directed by Cardinal Wiseman. (1) Probably O'Connell never saw Rome. In 1847 Pius IX expected him; but he expired on the way. His heart was, however, brought to Rome as a last witness to his faith. The dying hero had said:—"My body to Ireland, my heart to Rome, my soul to Heaven." (2)

Not only from the land of Henry VIII, but from the lands of Luther and Calvin, pilgrims flocked to the tombs of the Apostles. Foremost among these the poet Werner, who, in days of the Papacy's greatest trials, came to make his abjuration in

(1) Cardinal Newman first lived at Rome in Propaganda, and afterwards in the Monastery of S. Croce-in-Gerusalemme where the Novitiate of the English Oratorians was established.

(2) Rev. P. Ventura's Funeral oration on O'Connell, p. 95. O'Connell's heart lies in the church of S. Agata-in-Suburra, which has been given to the Irish College.

Rome; and Pierre de Joux, a member of the Geneva Consistory, who, even before becoming Catholic, wrote a work upon Italy and Rome, every page of which gives the lie to the infidel travellers of the last century:-- "Lying spirits, who met the inspirations of the faith with irony, and who began their work of darkness in the very heart of Catholicism."

Then, too, came the learned Haller, the historian Hürter, and the painter Overbeck. Nor were Protestant Princes, descendants of the first heretical Princes of the sixteenth century, wanting among those who renounced their families and wealth in order to embrace the faith of Peter. Among these may be mentioned Duke Adolphus-Frederick of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and his sister the wife of the Crown Prince of Denmark. The Princess took up her residence at Rome, dying there in 1840, leaving behind her a long record of virtues. Another German Princess, Countess Solms-Bareuth, retired to Tivoli, where, after abjuring Protestantism, she founded a Hospital, an Orphan Asylum, and public schools for the Brothers. The Villa Wolkonsky, facing S. John Lateran, on the slope of the Cælian Hill, is named after a Russian Princess, who, following the example of the Gallitzins, Gagarins, Suetchines, and Schouvaloffs in preferring the faith of Peter to that of Photius, sought refuge from Muscovite intolerance.

Propaganda itself recalls the name of a distinguished Jewish convert, the Rabbin Drake; and not far off stands S. Andrea-delle-Fratte, with its little chapel of S. Michele, within which another young Jew felt

the influence of Almighty power. On the 20<sup>th</sup> January 1842, S. Andrea-delle-Fratte was draped in black for the funeral of Comte de la Ferronnays. A few hours before his death, his friend, Baron Théodore de Bussière, asked him to pray for a young man whom he did not even know; this he promised to do. This young man was a zealous Jew, who detested the Church for having received his brother into her fold. But, however hostile he was to Catholicism, he had consented out of good nature to wear a medal of the Virgin at the request of a friend. He happened to be at Rome on a visit and was to be married on his return home. It so happened that on this particular day he casually entered S. Andrea, when suddenly the whole church seemed to disappear and the young Jew fell upon his knees in an ecstasy in the chapel of S. Michele. When he became conscious, he exclaimed to those around:— "Oh, how that gentleman has prayed for me!" then, pointing to the medal which he drew from his breast, he said: "I have seen her! She did not speak to me; but I understand all." Ten days later Alphonse-Marie Ratisbonne was received into the Church at the Gesù.

Not long before this another French Jew, Jacob Libermann, had come to Rome, having been converted in Paris in 1840. Cursed by his relentless parents, and afflicted with epilepsy, he had determined to devote his life to evangelising negroes. Arriving penniless at Rome he lived in a garret on charity, drawing up a rule for the Congregation he was about to found and which he intended to submit to the Holy Father. His rule was approved, but could not

be put into practice until his health was restored. He straightway set out for Loreto, praying and begging all the way. At Loreto he was so completely cured that both doctors and clergy agreed that he might be ordained. Three years later, Libermann's first disciples left Rome, under the invocation of the Holy Heart of Mary, as missionaries to the tropics.

Rome has borrowed many charitable works from the French; among others, alms for the Propagation of the Faith, consisting of a subscription of one half-penny a week for this noble purpose; the Conferences of S. Vincent de Paul, the President General of which was received in audience by Pius IX at the Vatican; and the great Archconfraternity of Our Lady of Victories. (1)

In the history of Christian Rome, the nineteenth century may indeed be called the century of victories, for each new trial appeared to be a forerunner of fresh triumphs. Pius VI dying in exile at Valence, and Pius VII imprisoned at Fontainebleau, have contributed more to the greatness of the Popedom than has the glory of Leo X and Sixtus V. It was remarkable that, at the very time Pius IX was fleeing from Rome to escape the Revolution, Catholic Germany,

(1) At Rome there are convents for French nuns of the Sacred Heart at La Trinità-dei-Monti and at S. Rufina; three monasteries for the French Christian Brothers; two for the Brothers of the Holy Cross of Mans, one of which occupies the spot where S. Brigit dwelt on the Piazza Farnese; also convents for the Sisters of S. Joseph de Cluny, La Providence de Porcieux, La Compassion de Marseille, S. Vincent de Paul, etc.



so long disunited, was gathering her scattered fragments together in solid union under the banner of Pius IX.

For centuries every country had at Rome its national Church, and very often its hospital for pilgrims, but now to these seminaries have also been attached. Pilgrimages to Rome, so frequent in the Middle Ages, had greatly fallen into disuse owing to the distrust or intervention of governments; but in our days they have retaken their place among Catholic customs. After the Revolution crowds of monks reappeared among the French pilgrims. Père Lacordaire commenced his life as a Friar-Preacher at S. Sabina; Père Jeandel was elected General of the Dominicans by the Pope. Père Besson forsook the world and his artistic career for a cell near those of S. Dominic and S. Pius V at S. Sabina, and then resumed his palate and brush to paint holy subjects on the walls of monasteries of his Order. (1)

French science is fitly represented by her Benedictines in Rome. S. Cæcilia cannot be visited without remembering Dom Guéranger, who has written the best history of that Basilica and of its glorious patron saint, and who also became a second founder of the Benedictine Order in France; or Dom Pitra, the learned writer of the "*Spicilegium Solesmense*" and an enthusiastic investigator of Eastern Christian antiquities. He had to leave a retired life at Solesmes

(1) Père Besson decorated S. Sisto with great mural paintings ("*Vie de Fra Angelico*," by M. E. Cartier, p. 153). The Dominicans undertook the restoration of the sanctuaries of their Order; and we must particularly mention their restoration of S. Maria-della-Minerva.

to instruct the Roman Congregations, and was one of the few French Benedictines raised to the purple, an honour conferred on him by Pius IX.

France is also represented in Rome by Jesuits, Trappists, Sisters of S. Vincent de Paul, Nuns of the Sacred Heart, Brothers of the Christian Schools, and, thanks to Pius IX, by a resident French Cardinal, that Pontiff desiring that every country should be constantly represented near him by a member of the Sacred College. (1)

Not very long ago the Sacred College reckoned among its members the decipherer of palimpsests, Angelo Mai, who had probably done more for learning and history than any other man of this century; and Mezzofanti, that "living Pentecost", as Gregory XVI called him, and whom Byron pointed out as being the only literary foreigner he would care to meet again, the Briareus of discussion, an ambulating polyglot, who should have lived at the time of the Tower of Babel as universal interpreter, a real marvel without pretension. (2) We must not omit the names of Perrone the theologian; Ventura; Vico the astronomer; Secchi the archæologist; Father Marchi and the Commendatore di Rossi.

(1) The French Cardinal, to whom reference is made, was Cardinal Villecourt, of the title of S. Pancrazio; this prelate died long ago.

(2) The Encyclopædia Britannica states that Giuseppe, Cardinal Mezzofanti, spoke with considerable fluency some 50 or 60 languages. He was born at Bologna in 1774; was keeper of the Vatican library 1831; and Cardinal in 1838. [Translator's note.]

This last name awakens the memory of that revelation which in some measure brought to light the primitive history of Christian Rome. The exact topography of the Catacombs, with the precise indication of the most important crypts, was unknown. This great work Rossi accomplished. Several itineraries for the use of pilgrims hitherto considered unimportant were looked upon by him as Ariadne's thread, a clue to conduct him through these unknown subterranean passages. The list of Monza phials, which S. Gregory had sent more than thirteen hundred years before to Queen Theodalinda, in order that she might have oil from each of the lamps which burned before the most famous altars in these gloomy vaults, became to him a second guide. The order in which the phials were enumerated pointed out the order of the altars, and thus the immense necropolis, even before it was re-investigated, yielded up its secrets to him.

Each following research has justified his skilful deductions. The Catacomb of S. Sebastian was generally known as the Cemetery of S. Calixtus, and as being the spot where the tomb of S. Cæcilia had stood. Now, thanks to Com. di Rossi, the actual cemetery of S. Calixtus has been found half a mile nearer Rome than that of S. Sebastian. In 1849 a fragment of stone, found on the western side of the Appian way, bearing the mutilated inscription . . . NELIVS MARTYR, gave Com. de Rossi the idea that the burial place of Pope S. Cornelius was not far off.

This Saint's crypt was in fact discovered in 1852. Two years later the epitaphs of SS. Antherus, Fabian, Lucius, and Eutychian, all Popes of the third century,

were found in an adjoining crypt. Evidently, therefore, the principal sanctuary of the cemetery of Calixtus had been reached, which, according to history, should contain the cenotaphs of eleven Popes. If only four of them were found, at least those celebrated verses of Pope Damasus came to light which we have already mentioned:—

*"Hic, fateor, Damasus, mea volui condere membra;  
Sed cineres timui sanctos vexare piorum."*

It now remained to discover where S. Cæcilia lay, for it was known that most of the Popes of the third century had been buried near her. The opening to her tomb was in fact found at the end of the Pontifical crypt, near the altar. The representation of the saint was still there, and above it that of Pope Urban who had placed her bleeding remains in the tomb.

But Com. di Rossi did not content himself by merely reconstituting the topography of the Catacombs, and identifying the cemeteries of Calixtus, Prætextatus, Domitilla, and SS. Nereus and Achilleus; he also drew up exact rules for establishing the actual dates of the newly discovered monuments. Father Marchi had already demonstrated the Christian origin of the Catacombs; Com. di Rossi has traced their history with remarkable erudition.

Among the holy men, whose virtues illustrated Rome during this century, must be mentioned Charles Odescalchi, grand-nephew of Innocent XI, who, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of December 1838, renounced the purple of the Cardinalate to become a novice in the Society of Jesus.

Then, again, there were the Abbate Palotta, devoted companion of Gaspard de Buffalo, who founded the Catholic Apostleship at Rome; Padre Bernardo, a Minim, beloved by the Romans; a Roman sempstress, Anna Maria Antonia Gesualda Taigi, who was surnamed "La Beata" during her life, and whose actual beatification took place shortly after her death.

It may be well to mention here that, at the very time the so-called Liberals were clamouring for the secularization of the Roman administration, the number of ecclesiastics in government employment was 100 against 6,836 laymen. The salaries of the former reached, in 1849, a total of 190,000 crowns; those of the latter 1,186,000. It was but natural that the highest offices were filled by ecclesiastics, as, while the Pope held power, the guiding principle of his government was, from the nature of things, ecclesiastical.

Pius IX's government continued to be a subject of reproach, as being responsible for the great poverty existing in his States, for the vast solitudes which surround the city, and for those endemic fevers which ravaged the country. Yet the blame for these evils in no way rested with him individually, nor with the Papal Government as a system. The solitudes which lie around Rome are the remnants of those immense domains formed little by little by encroachment and usury (*latifundia*), which, even in the days of the Gracchi, were a cause of poverty for Italy.

Pius IX continued to pursue the policy of his predecessors with regard to sanitation. Above all plantations were encouraged and vast numbers of young trees have been planted since 1850. Manufacturing industries have made great advances in Rome, but to all intents and purposes it is chiefly an agricultural land. Her principal exports are oil and corn; to these may also be added objects of fine art, such as statues, cameos, and mosaics that are valued at millions of francs. These statues go principally to England, Ireland, Germany, and America, and, in place of the Apollos and Venuses of the Renaissance, they mostly represent religious subjects, such as the Saviour, the Blessed Virgin and the saints.

It may be remembered it was to Mary that Dante's thoughts and hopes aspired, when he wrote:—

"Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio,  
Umile ed alta più che creatura,  
Termine fisso d'eterno consiglio,  
Tu se' colei che l'umana natura  
Nobilitasti sì che'l suo Fattore  
Non si sdegnò di farsi sua fattura." (1)

This invocation was not peculiar to Dante only but was universal throughout the century which beheld Innocent III and S. Louis; it has happily revived once more in the hearts of all honest European Catholics.

It must indeed have appeared strange to men of strong prejudices when they beheld Pius IX occupying the sad hours of his captivity by summoning together all the Bishops of the Universal Church to consider and proclaim

(1) Dante's "Paradiso," Canto XXXIII.

the doctrine of Mary's Immaculate Conception, at the very time when the Revolutionary Assembly was decreeing the fall of the temporal power of the Popedom.

Pius IX re-entered Rome a few months later under the shadow of that tricolore flag which had formerly presided over the abduction of both Pius VI and Pius VII. "He who beheld the sight of our soldiers kneeling in the Piazza Vaticana in their strength and simplicity, lowering their liberating banners, with S. Peter's, the world's cathedral, in front of them, the dust of martyrs beneath their feet, and the hand of Pius IX extended in blessing above their heads, may truly say that he has seen the most beautiful sight which the sun could shine upon, and he can only repeat with grateful admiration those words engraved by Sixtus V upon Nero's Obelisk:— 'The Lion of the tribe of Juda has conquered! let the enemy flee! Christ triumphs, Christ reigns! May Christ defend his people from all evil!'" (1)

Ruin pervaded everything at Rome, both physical and moral, since the Revolution had passed over her. Pius IX set himself manfully to the task of restoration; and, while thus occupied, received from all quarters the most explicit professions of faith with respect to the great privilege of Mary. Accordingly on the 8<sup>th</sup> December 1854 Rome witnessed Pius IX, surrounded by 130 Bishops, like Leo X at the Lateran, proclaim the dogma which, in recalling our original fall, combats

(1) Montalembert's "Des intérêts catholiques au dix-neuvième siècle," p. 37.

more closely the naturalism of the haughty spirits of our day; she heard the voices of bishops, priests and people re-echoing that exclamation of former ages:—"God has spoken by Peter's mouth!"

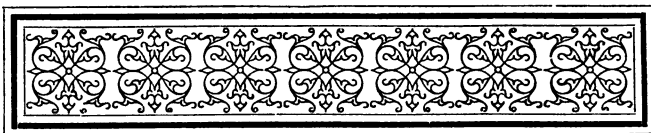
The statue of Mary Immaculate now stands upon an ancient column facing Propaganda. (1) Only yesterday philosophers attempted to explain to us "how dogmas ended". (2) Rome and the world have answered them. Bossuet in his sermon on the unity of the Church says:—"No, Rome is not exhausted by her great age, and her voice is not suppressed . . . God does not extinguish light, He moves it . . . Woe, woe once more, to him who loses it! But light pursues its way, and the sun accomplishes its course."

(1) This column of cipolin marble, with its base and capital, reaches a height of 14 m. 27 c. It stands on an octagonal base adorned with bas-reliefs and statues of Moses, Isaias, David, and Ezechiel. Lilies and olives, symbols of purity and peace, decorate the capital. Commendatore Poletti designed the monument; the statue of Mary is by Obici, and those of the prophets are by the Roman sculptors, Revelli, Jacommetti and Tadolini, and an Irishman, Kelly.

(2) Title of an article in the "Globe."







## APPENDIX.

*Victoria quæ vincit mundum, fides nostra.*

*I. Ep. B. J. V—5.*

*Inscription engraved on the Castelfidardo  
medal by order of Pius IX.*



THE third edition of "Christian Rome" ended here; but since then events have occurred, which, however sad, must now be recorded.

After all the Church began with the humiliations of the Cross, which, however, can neither alarm nor surprise her. Indeed they become a source of more glory, that of right overcoming wrong and of weakness vanquishing might. In the hour when she seemed to be forsaken, help came from all sides. It is even as Pascal said:—"Happy state for the Church that she is upheld by God alone!"

The year 1855 was marked by the progressive encroachments made by Piedmont on the domains of conscience: in that country it was lawful to be a Freemason, but not either a Dominican, a Benedictine, or a Passionist.

"Words fail us", said Pius IX in his Allocution of 22<sup>nd</sup> January, "to describe the grief we feel on witnessing so many almost incredible deeds, so many

excesses already committed, so many measures daily adopted against the Church and her sacred rights, against the supreme and inviolable authority of this Holy See, in a country containing so many good Catholics, who were formerly distinguished by the piety of their Kings."

A Concordat with Austria, containing stipulations which revived the spirit of the Church in that country, and supplanted that of Joseph II, the Sacristan-Emperor, so named by Frederick of Prussia, certainly brought some consolation to Pius IX's heart, although it again marked out Austria for all the buffeting of the Revolution.

The Western Powers, France and England, joined by Piedmont, anxious to gain her spurs, had been engaged in war with Russia since 1854; and it was impossible to follow without interest the events of that distant conflict, which, without strengthening Islamism, could not fail to strike a rude blow at the haughty Greek schism in the East. The fall of Sebastopol was consequently welcomed with universal joy. It remained to be seen what would be the consequences of this victory. With this object a Congress assembled at Paris, in March 1856, consisting of the great European Powers, and with them Piedmont and Turkey who had taken part in the war. It was natural to suppose that an Assembly, with a definite object, would keep within the limits arising from the terms of its convocation. Nevertheless if, perchance, it had profited by the presence of the English and Russian plenipotentiaries to discuss the miserable condition of the unfortunate populations of Ireland

and Poland, the whole world would have applauded; but no one suggested this, and had they done so the moment would have been considered as inopportune. What did appear to be opportune was, at the suggestion of France and Piedmont, to arraign the Pope and the King of Naples at the bar of the Congress, although neither of them was represented at it; which was equivalent to condemning these two independent sovereigns, one of whom was the Head of Christendom, without a hearing, a proceeding permitted by no law against the lowest criminal. (1)

It is true this condemnation was expressed in the mildest manner, as though it were a petition:—"It is to be desired that the Roman Government should consolidate itself, so as to enable the French and Austrian troops to evacuate the Pontifical States without risk," after which it was hinted, "whether it would not be advisable for certain governments in the Italian Peninsula to attract wandering, though not perverted, subjects by acts of clemency, and thus put an end to a system which worked completely against its own object, and which, far from reaching the enemies of order, resulted in weakening law and adding to the ranks of the disaffected."

Thus spoke the first plenipotentiary of France at the sitting on the 8<sup>th</sup> of April. It amounted to

(1) What makes this action all the more remarkable was that at a previous sitting, held on the 18<sup>th</sup> March, the Congress had formally acknowledged that "it possessed no right, either collectively or individually, to intermeddle in the relations between a sovereign and his subjects".

telling the Pope two things:— You are not popular and you are not merciful; and in like manner saying two things to the agitators:— You are not altogether in the wrong and you will find supporters. No one was deceived, either within or without the Congress. It had met to put an end to the war in the East, but everyone henceforth saw an Italian war looming in the distance.

Count Waleski's remarks found an echo in England, the secular enemy of the Papacy, and in Piedmont, a far from disinterested party; for, since the 27<sup>th</sup> of the preceding March, it had openly unveiled its policy to the Courts of Paris and London. The plenipotentiaries of the other Powers either kept silence, or excused themselves from offering an opinion on the plea of having no instructions. The Prussian plenipotentiary, Herr von Manteuffel, expressed fears, however, lest the advice just given might lead to "a spirit of insubordination and revolutionary movements" in the country.

This very natural fear was generally shared, and became acute on learning the reception given by the Revolution to the protocol of the 8<sup>th</sup> of April. The Piedmontese Envoy's report and commentary on the protocol, which were at once placed before the Parliament of Turin, gave fresh importance to the incident. It was then evident that the siege had begun, and that Piedmont's designs were far-reaching. Indeed that country did not hesitate, in public documents, to compare the state of Christians in Italy with that of Christians in the East, and to represent the subjects of the Pope and of other Princes in the Peninsula as being

"even more unfortunate" than those of the Grand Turk, taking into consideration the higher degree of civilization they had attained.

Having once entered this path the Sardinian plenipotentiaries were little disposed to halt. As early as the 27<sup>th</sup> of March they had suggested that the Legations should be separated from the States of the Church, "at least administratively." Not long before Comte de Tournon, the French Imperial Prefect at Rome, had made a favourable report on the Pontifical administration to his Government, and this had been echoed by English newspapers at a later date. But, on hearing Count Cavour, one might imagine both Prefect and journals had either told falsehoods or knew nothing about the matter. He said:— "The Legations, separated from the States of the Holy See by the Treaty of Tolentino, formed part of the Republic, and afterwards of the Kingdom of Italy, until 1814. The organizing genius of Napoleon had, as though by enchantment, changed their aspect. French laws, institutions, and administration had in a few years produced well-being and civilization; moreover, in those provinces, every sympathy and tradition goes back to that period. The Napoleonic Government is the only one that has survived, not alone in the memory of the upper classes but also in that of the whole population. That memory recalls an impartial justice, a strong administration, a state, in short, of prosperity, wealth, and military greatness."

Count Cavour did not forget whom he was addressing. Nevertheless, it is surprising that Italian

Liberalism took a régime which had never made any pretence of being liberal as an ideal of its regrets and hopes.

Then followed an absolute condemnation of Pontifical Government, even from a theoretical point of view. "Unhappily," said Cavour, "the advice of the Powers and the goodwill of the Pope have both failed against the obstacles which clerical organization opposed to every form of innovation." Thus, it was not a mere question of reforms: they were declared to be impossible. The solution of the difficulty might be found, so it was said, in the words of Napoleon III's letter to Colonel Edgar Ney: "Sécularisation, Code Napoléon;" they quickly added, however, "but it is clear that the Roman Court will fight to the last, and employ every means to prevent the realisation of this double combination, which will undermine the foundation and bring about the fall of the temporal power, by taking away from it clerical privilege and Canon law, its chief props."

The mask had been raised; but, such had been the boldness of the Piedmontese accusations, that they aroused an eloquent and thoroughly convinced opponent in the very person of the French Ambassador at Rome, Comte de Rayneval, who had represented Napoleon III in that city for several years. Abstaining carefully from partisanship, he had studied both sides, fathomed their designs, investigated their grievances, and it was the result of this serious conscientious examination which he considered it his duty to place before his government. Cavour attributed the revolutionary ferment existing at Rome to

the vices of the Government. On the other hand, M. de Rayneval saw in it the ill-disguised desire "to play a great part", if not, as formerly, by means of art, science and literature, at least by a great military organization. For centuries the sceptre of civilization had been held by religion and genius; now that it was no longer in such safe hands people wished to have recourse to the sword, and a sovereign who wore none became to them an anomaly and an obstacle.

M. de Rayneval affirmed, after a close examination of the list of complaints, that whatever party might ultimately triumph would have the "same number of grievances to contend with. Pius IX," he added, "has shown himself full of zeal for reform; he even began the work himself; all the world knows the catastrophe which followed. What happened then is bound to recur."

On the subject of taxation and on the oft expressed desire for secularisation, M. de Rayneval, like M. de Tournon, replied by statistics. Each inhabitant of France paid 45 francs in taxes, at Rome only 22. In "no other" country of Europe are burdens lighter. As to "secularisation," the number of ecclesiastics filling civil posts does not reach 200, and half of these supposed priests have nothing of the priest about them except the cassock, for "they have not been admitted to Holy Orders." "But here," says M. de Rayneval, "a curious fact comes before us. Provinces governed by laymen send deputations to solicit that the government may be given to an ecclesiastical delegate. The people are

unaccustomed to lay-delegates and refuse to obey them; they charge them with subordinating public interests to those of their families. Nothing can happen, even with respect to their wives, but questions as to precedence and etiquette arise. In a word, a government which, in order to satisfy a 'pretended desire' on the part of the populace for lay-officials, might reserve a certain number of posts for these latter, would find the liveliest opposition to such a measure from the people themselves." (1) According to M. de Rayneval, the partisans of "secularisation" only cried: — "No more priests!" in order that they might soon be able to call out:— "No more Popes!"

With regard to the laws in force in the Roman States, the Ambassador was no less explicit: "I have studied them carefully," he said, "they are above criticism; the mortgage laws have been examined by French lawyers and have been pronounced by them to be model laws." He then gave a rapid description of the reforms carried out by Pius IX; admission for laymen to all posts save one, that of Secretary of State; amendment of civil and criminal laws; promulgation of a code for procedure and one for commerce; well-defined separation between the various authorities; absolute independence of the judicial bench; preparation of laws by a Council of State composed of those best versed in administrative

(1) In another part of his report M. de Rayneval says:— "At any rate, whenever we see a man becoming rich out here he is always a layman. I have never come across a prelate who enriched himself by unlawful methods."



details; a Finance Department, the members of which, though nominated by the Sovereign, were to be chosen from a list freely elected by the municipalities; consultative power of this Department in assessing the budget; deliberative power of the same over auditing the accounts; municipal organization for every requirement and for managing public funds, by a permanent committee elected from the Council; finally, liquidation of the Republican debt, financial prosperity, generous help given to all public works, such as roads, harbours, steam navigation, drainage, railroads, viaducts of the greatest importance, excavations, etc., etc.

It will be remembered that one of the representatives at the Congress of Paris invited certain Governments of the Peninsula to practise clemency. M. de Rayneval, answering for Pius IX, recalled the fact that a "more lofty spirit of clemency" had never been seen than that which had accompanied the Roman restoration. No vengeance whatever had been taken on those who had provoked the downfall of the Pontifical power. The Pope had contented himself with "depriving them of the power of evil doing" by giving them their passports. If new conspiracies arose or assassinations were committed, the severity of justice was ever tempered by mercy; repression was never enforced unless with "extreme gentleness." M. de Rayneval proceeds:— "There are prisons at Rome which deserve to be visited, in order that one may admire the persevering charity of the Holy Father. I shall not prolong the enumeration: what I have said should suffice to prove that all the

measures adopted by the Pontifical Administration bear the stamp of wisdom, common sense, and progress; that they have already borne good fruit; in a word, that there is not a single detail connected with the welfare, whether moral or physical, of the population that has escaped the attention of the Government or has received other than favourable treatment."

One sentence sums up everything, be one for or against the Pope. As M. de Rayneval remarks:—"If the Sovereign of the Pontifical States were not also Head of the Church, the maintenance or overthrow of his power would matter little; but the cause of Catholicism is at stake in this matter."

The French Ambassador's report touched every subject, and was positive on most of them. Therefore no serious reply was sent to him; the subject was carefully avoided, but great play was made with the word "Reform," an elastic and ill-defined term which, on that very account, has at all times served as a watchword for revolution.

The last sentences of the report were among the saddest: "In face of the existing agitation and excitement caused by the publication of the protocols it is impossible not to be extremely anxious about the future of the Papacy. If care be not taken, Europe will see the problem presenting itself in a manner terrible to contemplate, for it is intimately bound up with the deepest and most intense passions of the human heart."

In fact, each day these burning passions became more conspicuous. Under pretext of rendering to Cæsar what was Cæsar's, the clergy were disturbed

in Piedmont in the administration of the Sacraments, and in the secrecy of the Confessional. A circular from the Keeper of the Seals pretended to substitute civil for ecclesiastical censures. (1) The answer given by the clergy was simple and to the point; they repeated the words of S. Peter:— "*Obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus.*"

The relations between France and Rome, far from being strained after the dictates of the protocol of the 8<sup>th</sup> of April, became closer and more intimate in consequence of the baptism of the Prince Imperial, to whom the august Head of the Church had consented to become Sponsor. Cardinal Patrizi, who represented the Pope as legate "*a latere*" on this occasion, received throughout France the most explicit tokens of filial respect, both from governors and governed, for the Apostolic Chair. The Emperor was the first to express his veneration for the "*representative of Jesus Christ on earth,*" and said it was in order to obtain the protection of heaven for his son and for France, that he had asked him the favour of holding "*the child given him by Providence*" over the baptismal font.

\* Cardinal de Bonald, on behalf of the French Bishops, hastened to do homage to the Sovereign Pontiff in the person of his legate, offering him a devotion "*which had never failed,*" and expressing veneration for the "*Vicar of Jesus Christ, the Bishop of Bishops, the Oracle of the Church.*"

(1) Circular of Signor Rattazzi, June 1856.

On behalf of the Pope Cardinal Patrizi presented to the Empress the famous Golden Rose, which is blessed every year on the Fourth Sunday of Lent, in order that it may be forwarded to those Princes, Cities or Churches, whom the Holy Father may desire to honour. The vase containing the rose was of massive gold, and rested on a pedestal of lapis lazuli bearing the arms both of the Pope and the Emperor. The vase itself was sculptured in relief with the Birth of the Virgin and the Presentation in the Temple.

The year which had been marked by the Congress of Paris was to end with a public homage paid by the French Government to the financial administration of the Roman States. The "Moniteur" of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December recorded the steady improvement of the Pontifical budget, and the increase of produce which had followed a considerable reduction in custom-house charges. "If one remembers," it went on, "that the Pontifical Government has had to clear off a debt of 40 millions bequeathed to it by the Republic, together with the curse of paper money, one will be surprised that it has been able, in less than seven years, to arrange its budget with only a small deficit of 2,500,000 francs and without having had recourse to any of those extraordinary measures which relieve the present at the expense of the future."

Such a result was, in fact, the refutation of all that had been said about the carelessness and the abuses of the Roman Government. A no less eloquent refutation was afforded by the welcome given to Pius IX in the

Northern Provinces of the States of the Church during the spring of 1857. Pius IX set out from Rome on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May to pray at Loreto. He afterwards proceeded to Ancona, Ravenna, and Bologna, that is to say he crossed those very Legations which Count Cavour was never weary of representing as trembling beneath his yoke, and yet his journey proved to be a regular triumph. Such was indeed the enthusiasm of the populace that the revolutionists, powerless to check it, hypocritically joined in, shouting "Long live Pius IX!" instead of "Long live the Pope-King!" thus limiting to a personal tribute that homage which the crowd was addressing as much to the dignity as to the individual.

"In truth," cried the venerable Pontiff on his return, "We have only to rejoice, and return most humble thanks to the infinite mercy of God, the giver of all good things, for having met with so much love from all the populations through which we passed, who testified their happiness in professing their attachment and devotion to the Holy See . . . Everywhere, in fact, not only . . . the clergy, the magistrates, and the nobility, but everyone, of every place, class, and age, thronged the roads so eagerly and gave way to such demonstrations of joy and filial devotion, in order to honour in our humble person the Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth and to express the love they bear to their sovereign and their trust in him, that often we could not restrain our tears." (1) Alas! those tears were soon to be dried up by the Revolution.

(1) Allocution of the 25<sup>th</sup> September 1857.

Pius IX's journey had lasted four months, from the 4<sup>th</sup> of May to the 5<sup>th</sup> of September. From Bologna he had prolonged it to Modena and Florence; and, whilst the inhabitants of the Roman States had honoured the man, King, Pontiff and father, the Princes and peoples of Modena and Tuscany had, with equal enthusiasm, acclaimed the common Father of all Christians, the Vicar of God. Pius IX had everywhere shown himself to be a loving father and, in his own States, an intelligent Sovereign. He had visited the harbours, workshops, and factories; had received reports on all public works and ordered new ones, forgetting neither proper "measures for the maintenance of religion and piety," nor those which might procure "further temporal advantages to promote the welfare of his people." (1)

While the impression of this journey still lingered, an unforeseen event occurred which suddenly aroused the thousand-voiced radical press against the Holy See. Edgar Mortara, a Jewish child who had been baptized by a Catholic servant during a dangerous illness, was by authority taken from his parents, who dwelt at Bologna, in order that he might be brought up in the faith of his baptism. This respect for the first of Christian Sacraments, which ran counter to that of parental authority, was proclaimed, from one end of Europe to the other, as a return to the Dark Ages. The most remarkable feature of this clamour was that the Revolutionary School, whose doctrine is that the child belongs more to the State than to

(1) Allocution of the 25<sup>th</sup> September 1857.

its parents, took the lead in it. This principal was warmly upheld in that sectarian faction which had governed France from 1830 to 1848, and which during those eighteen years had, by force or otherwise, seized upon all children in order to fashion them in their own colleges, (1) under penalty of being deprived of any career or diploma, whether as doctors or lawyers. In the Roman States one might come across a Mortara once in fifteen or twenty years. In France the Mortaras were countless. However all eyes were turned towards Rome, no one thought of France.

Rome was, of all the European Powers, the only one that had been constantly tolerant to the Jews, and such were the grateful impressions preserved among the Israelite population that, when Napoleon I assembled them in Sanhedrim, at a period when Rome was far from being triumphant, they felt in honour bound to record their deep gratitude to the Papacy.

But, if the Jews had rights at Rome which they possessed nowhere else, they had also duties. Thus they were forbidden to take Catholic women into their service; if they infringed this rule no Catholic woman having charge of Jewish children was allowed to baptise them unless they were *in extremis*. This was exactly what had occurred in the Mortara affair. In spite of the edicts the father had taken a Catholic maid into his service, well-knowing the possible consequences of this act; therefore no one was to blame but himself. The Pope could not abandon a

(1) From Jouffroy we know what was the philosophy taught in these colleges.

Christian soul; had he done so, he might have allayed the storm; but then he would not have acted as Pope, Father, or Vicar of Him who lost none of those who had been confided to his care (*quos dedisti mihi non perdi ex eis quemquam*). He therefore willingly accepted insult and outrage; submitted to be mocked at; and, sovereign as he was without an army, he neither attempted to avoid nor provoke royal or popular hatred. (1)

The outbreak was very near at hand. The signal was given by a few words spoken by Napoleon III to Baron von Hübner, the Austrian Ambassador, at the general reception at the Tuileries on the 1<sup>st</sup> January 1859. He said, "I regret that my relations with your Government are not so cordial as formerly; but I beg you to tell the Emperor that my personal feelings towards him remain unchanged."

(1) Pius IX addressing young Mortara when he had almost attained to manhood, said:— "You are very dear to us, my son, for we have acquired you for Christ at a very great price. Yes, you have cost us a heavy ransom. On your account universal fury was let loose on us and on the Apostolic See. Governments and peoples, powers and journalists, who are the strong ones of our times, have declared war against us . . . They have complained of the harm done to your parents in that you were regenerated by Holy Baptism, and that you have received an education such as God willed for you. No one, however, pities us, the Father of all the Faithful, from whom our children in Poland are torn away by schism and corrupted by pernicious teaching. Nations and governments are mute when we groan and lament over the fate of that portion of the fold of Jesus Christ, ravaged by robbers in broad daylight; not a soul comes to rescue the father and his children." From the Posen Journal, 27<sup>th</sup> April 1867.



It was little, but still very much. There was no doubt a great difference between these courteous expressions and the scene made by Napoleon I, on a former occasion at the Tuileries, with Lord Whitworth, the British ambassador, which scene resulted in the rupture of the Peace of Amiens; but their significance was the same, and the regrets expressed to Baron von Hübner resounded like the roaring of cannon throughout Europe.

Victor Emmanuel's speech at the opening of the Legislative session, ten days later, loudly echoed these sentiments. The King said:— "Strong by past experience, let us march resolutely onwards to encounter the contingencies of the future . . . Our country, small in territorial extent, has increased in reputation in all European Councils, because it is great in the ideas it represents and by the sympathies it inspires. Such a situation is not devoid of danger; for, prepared as we are to respect treaties, we cannot, on the other hand, be deaf to the cry of sorrow which, from so many parts of Italy, reaches our ears." Thus the Italian Princes, other than Victor Emmanuel, in a time of profound peace, were denounced as tyrants and the pretended "cry of sorrow", supposed to be uttered by their subjects, served as a pretext for every possible violation of treaties.

The marriage of Prince Napoleon with Princess Clotilde, daughter of Victor Emmanuel, celebrated at Turin on the 30<sup>th</sup> of January, emphasized the situation. Evidently a secret agreement existed between Italy and

France, and the insolence of the one could only be explained by the connivance of the other. England, too, was their secret ally. Lord Derby remarked in one of his speeches that the threatened danger lay neither in Lombardy nor Naples, but in the central portion of Italy, that portion which was under the temporal jurisdiction of the Head of the Roman Catholic Church, "which was the true source of the evil." He further represented Northern Italy as a slumbering volcano, whose sudden eruption might, from one moment to the other, "spread devastation and ruin." It is impossible not to recognize in the speech of the English Minister, despite his protestation to the contrary, the old cry of the Reformation:—"War against the Papacy!"

A pamphlet published in Paris, during the month of February, under the title of "Napoleon III and Italy," ostensibly anonymous but generally attributed to an official source, partially raised the curtain which had until then hidden certain agreements and resolutions. It proposed an Italian Confederation under the honorary presidency of the Pope. Furthermore, it openly explained the result of such a scheme in so far as the Roman Temporal Power was concerned. "It would be to slacken the too strict bonds which unite the Prince to the Pontiff and which confine the activity of a nation, at the imminent risk of an explosion, within the inflexible circle of ecclesiastical power." To put it more simply, the temporal power was to be maintained *de jure*, condemned and destroyed *de facto*.

A publication such as this could not but increase the strain which, since the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, had taken hold of all minds, especially in France. This strain had become so intense that the Emperor Napoleon thought it necessary to take note of it in his opening speech to the Legislative Chambers. He recalled his famous remark at Bordeaux, in the early days of the Empire, a remark which had called forth the wildest enthusiasm, "The Empire means Peace." "Peace," he added, "will not we hope be broken; therefore resume your usual occupations with confidence."

It may have been noticed that the usual pretext for all attacks on the Roman Government was what was called its abnormal position; that is to say it was a power which, for its maintenance, had to depend on foreign arms. Surely the Pope, the head of 200,000,000 Catholics all interested in his independence, had the right to rely not only on the Italians of his dominions but upon all his flock. Moreover these, on their side, had the right to be guaranteed against all preponderating and local influence, which might have made the universal and venerable Head of Christendom the mere puppet of a party or even of the Revolution. The position of the Holy See was therefore only abnormal in the sense that the foreign regiments, in barracks at Rome and Bologna, were under his orders, and that, belonging entirely to two of the Great Powers, they only represented the whole of Christendom indirectly.

The Pope determined to put an end to this state of things, and also to the pretexts it afforded to his

enemies. Accordingly, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February, Cardinal Antonelli announced to the Ambassadors of France and Austria that His Holiness was prepared to treat with their Governments for the simultaneous and prompt evacuation of the Pontifical territory by the French and Austrian armies. But events were hurrying on, and it was not on the stroke of an impending war that these two Powers could dream of withdrawing their troops. In the meantime Russia proposed a Congress for settling Italian affairs; the Great Powers gave in their adhesion; but Austria, as a preliminary step, demanded a disarmament; this Piedmont refused, whereupon Austria issued a summons that she should disarm within three days.

This ultimatum meant war. It is unnecessary to recall its events; Montebello, Magenta, and Solferino added fresh laurels to the arms of France; while the Treaty of Villafranca suddenly announced the fact that the French Emperor was on his guard against the Revolution. It is only necessary to mention these facts, but not to dwell upon them in tracing the actual history of Rome.

At Rome, as elsewhere, the Revolution was simmering, and the continual departure of volunteers to Garibaldi's camp kept up a threatening agitation. The least nervous had foreseen it, and the uneasiness of Catholics became so intense that the Emperor tried to calm it. On the opening of the campaign, he said:— "We are not going to Italy to foment disorder and shake the power of the Holy Father, whom we have replaced on his throne, but to relieve him from that foreign pressure which weighs over

the whole Peninsula, and to assist in establishing order on the basis of legitimate interests." The Minister of Public Worship also wrote to the Bishops, saying:— "The Prince who has given so many proofs of his deference and attachment to religion, who, after the evil days of 1848, brought back the Holy Father to the Vatican, is the staunchest supporter of Catholic unity; and he desires that the Head of the Church shall be respected in all his rights as a temporal sovereign."

Nothing could be more explicit; but events moved onwards. An Army Corps, under the command of Prince Napoleon, occupied Tuscany, and the Austrians, threatened on their left flank, evacuated Romagna on the 11<sup>th</sup> of June. In his report the Prince referred to this as a success resulting from his manœuvring. In fact, the success was for the benefit of the Revolution, for then occurred what invariably happens in times of excitement and fever; the noisiest domineered over the towns, which in their turn harassed the country, so that a mere handful of men imposed themselves as masters on the entire population. (1) It was thus that the Convention and the reign of Terror had become possible in France.

(1) This was so well known to Victor Emmanuel's Government that, when it was a question of balloting, the voting lists were pruned (*diramare*) "by honest upright friends," and they were "enjoined" to confine this operation "only to crowded centres." These are the very expressions made use of by Signor Cipriani, who then governed the Legations (see his Memorandum). No wonder Lord John Russell subsequently stated in a despatch, on 21<sup>st</sup> January 1861, that the votes appeared to be of "but small value."

These doleful tidings reached Rome just as steps were being taken to celebrate the thirteenth anniversary of Pius IX's election. The good wishes expressed to the Holy Father on this occasion were consequently sad and touching. Replying to the Sacred College, the Pope said:— "On whatever side we gaze, we only behold reasons for grief and sorrow; but, 'Væ homini illi per quem scandalum venit!' . . . As for ourself personally, we remain unshaken in our confidence, we are calm, we trust in God" . . . Next day, the 18<sup>th</sup> of June, His Holiness addressed an encyclical letter to all the Patriarchs, Primates and Bishops, in which, reproving and deploring the acts of rebellion committed by a portion only of the people, he resolutely declares that the temporal sovereignty, of which the "most perfidious enemies of the Church of Christ" would rob him, was necessary to the Holy See for the free exercise of its sacred power. The venerable Pontiff furthermore proclaimed that, clothed with virtue from on High, he should brave all dangers and undergo every trial rather than fail in performing the duties of his trust or do anything contrary to the oath he had taken when ascending S. Peter's Chair, which was the "citadel and bulwark of the Faith."

Meanwhile Perugia had imitated Bologna; it was, however, retaken by Pontifical troops. This was a first success, and the peace of Villafranca was a second, restoring hope and confidence to Catholics. Both, however, were to be quickly shattered, for Piedmont occupied the Legations with her troops, by way of taking, what she called, the first step in

universal suffrage. As early as the month of August, Mgr. Plantier, Bishop of Nîmes, had published a learned treatise on the temporal sovereignty of the Popes; the voices of the Bishops of Arras, Poitiers, and Orleans, were heard in the following September.

Meantime, a Congress had been announced for the discussion of all pending Italian questions. The Holy Father was invited to send a representative, and Catholics fondly hoped that their interests would be seriously considered, when, suddenly, an anonymous pamphlet, similar to the one issued before the war, appeared to render all discussion impossible by its semi-official enunciation of definite radical views. This pamphlet, "*Le Pape et le Congrès*," was a series of contradictions. It maintained both the necessity for, and the impossibility of, the temporal power; endeavouring thus to please all parties.

All ranks of Catholics were unanimous in condemning this pamphlet; Bishops resumed their pens and the Pope did not hesitate, on a solemn occasion, to characterize it in these severe words:— "an iniquitous monument of hypocrisy and an ignoble tissue of contradictions." Its results may be summed up in a few words from a despatch which was sent by Lord John Russell a year later, on the 24<sup>th</sup> December 1861, to Lord Cowley, the British Ambassador at Paris:— "The pamphlet entitled, '*Le Pape et le Congrès*,' has resulted in the Pope losing more than half his dominions, and in preventing the assembling of a European Congress."

Although the pamphlet was anonymous, a document signed by the Emperor Napoleon left no doubt as

to the Imperial sentiments. This document was in the form of a letter from the Emperor to the Holy Father, in which the Emperor expressed his regret that the Pope had not consented to his request, made after the war, to separate the Legations from the rest of his States, and to place them under a lay Governor, which would doubtless have ensured their submission to his authority. Since then the French Government had found itself powerless to prevent the establishment of a new system; and, while fully admitting the incontestable rights of the Holy See, it suggested to the Pope, as the "best means of considering his true interests, that he should relinquish his rebellious provinces."

The Pope replied to the Imperial letter by an Encyclical, dated the 19<sup>th</sup> January; in it he declared that the rights of the Holy See did not belong to a dynasty, but to all Catholics; he could not therefore yield what was not his own. He proceeded to state that, by giving way to the disaffected in Emilia, he would merely be supplying an incentive to native and foreign agitators in other provinces to do the same thing; that he could not abdicate his rights without violating the solemn oaths which bound him; without causing complaints and disturbances in his other States; and without wronging all Catholics . . . He added that the Emperor could not ignore who were the men, and whose was the money, that had provoked and accomplished the recent rebellions at Bologna, Ravenna, and other towns; while the great masses of the people were stupefied by these unexpected events in which they did not sympathise.



The Marquis Pepoli, one of the authors of the Bologna revolt and since then one of Victor Emmanuel's Ministers, took upon himself at a later period to name the men and give the figures which the Holy Father had merely indicated. The publication of the Encyclical in France was followed by the suppression of the "Univers," in which paper it first appeared, and subsequently by that of the "Bretagne" of Saint Brieuc and of the "Gazette de Lyon."

The Revolution meanwhile strode on in Italy, with banners flying, not heeding any remonstrances from France, who, after having poured out her blood and gold for Italy, always demanded the establishment of a confederation, under whose protection some ancient rights might have been preserved; but the Revolution required the emancipation of Italy, and marched steadily onwards to the end by trickery, treason, and boldness. On one side Victor Emmanuel humbly besought the Holy Father to leave him the Legations, and give him the title and privileges of his Vicar in the Marches and Umbria; on the other hand Garibaldi, who had been driven from Rome by the French troops, recommenced his crusade against the Church. Garibaldi considered that his worst enemy was the priest who swayed the people "by lies," who "smiled like Satan," and "glided like a serpent when about to bite." According to him Italy's great misfortune was that in her heart she nourished "that canker called the Papacy; that imposture called the Papacy." (1)

(1) Address to the students of Pisa, 24<sup>th</sup> December 1859.

It was under the double influence of this appeal to the worst passions and of a Government already established that the ballot was taken in Romagna, and the solemn annexation of its provinces to the Sardinian Kingdom decreed. These acts completed the rupture with Rome, and were followed by solemn excommunication. (1)

There is no need to record in detail the subsequent events: the annexation of Nice and Savoy to France; Garibaldi's invasion of Sicily; the help he received from the English Government; Victor Emmanuel's disavowal of the expedition while its result was uncertain, his complete and solemn avowal of it as soon as its success was assured; treason everywhere, in the Cabinet of the King of Sardinia towards his ally the King of Naples, even in the Cabinet of the King of Naples towards that young, courageous and unhappy monarch. Then, again, the Marches and Umbria were invaded without any declaration of war; the Pontifical Army was destroyed in an ambush; and, as though to crown all these exploits, Victor Emmanuel entered Naples in the same carriage as Garibaldi, thus publicly sealing, by his acceptance of a Kingdom, the badly concealed understanding which had existed between them.

The States which remained to the Pope formed but an imperceptible speck on the map of the world; but to this point converge all that concerns Catholicism. The ancient custom of Peter's Pence was

(1) Pontifical letters of 26<sup>th</sup> March 1860 (*Cum catholica ecclesia*).

generally re-established; and from France, Belgium, Ireland and Germany, young defenders flocked to maintain the cause of God and His Vicar. They were commanded by the brave La Moricière; history has recorded what excellent use he made of the small resources at his disposal, and the gallantry with which he maintained the honour of the banner of Lepanto, at Ancona, to the very last. Nor will history lightly forget his brave companions in arms; Pimodan, Quatrebarbes, a veteran of the conquest of Algiers who, after a lapse of thirty years, resumed his sword, and all the young soldiers who died at Castelfidardo: d'Héliand, de Parcevaux, de Chalus, de Lanascot, Picou, Vinay, de Montravel, and Guérin, of Brittany. (1)

At the close of 1859 the Holy See had already lost her fine provinces, the Legations; by the end of 1860 she was robbed of the Marches and Umbria; and the Piedmontese Government, masters of Naples, hemmed her in with their troops, leaving her free only on the seaboard. One might have supposed that Piedmontese ambition was satisfied, but the possession of Rome was still required.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of March 1861, the Parliament sitting at Turin proclaimed Victor Emmanuel King of Italy, and Rome the capital of the new Kingdom. This was rapid work and made a mockery of France, who had scores of times proclaimed the necessity

(1) Many others might be mentioned: Zappi, Blumenstheil, Allet, Becdelièvre, Bourbon-Chalus, Saintenac, Lepri, and the whole family of de Charette, whose devotion recalls the finest ages of chivalry.

of the temporal power of the Holy See. France withdrew her Ambassador from Turin when the Marches, were invaded, and it was certainly not by the presumption with which the Sub-alpine Government persisted in a course opposed to French sympathies and advice that he was likely to be induced to return thither. Accordingly astonishment was profound when, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June, a decree appeared in the "Moniteur" recognizing the Kingdom of Italy. Doubtless reservations were made at Villafranca and Zurich. France declared that she in no way intended to "weaken" the force of the protests uttered by the Roman Court against the invasion of several provinces of the Pontifical States. She also reserved her opinion upon the events in the Peninsula, and carefully differentiated between recognition and approbation.

The Italian Government interpreted these reservations in the sense that the recognition was made without conditions, and without any prejudice to the rights of the Italian nation. It further declared:—"Our desire is to restore her glorious capital to Italy, but our intention is to take nothing away from the greatness of the Church." Thus, as a historian put it:—"France reserved the rights of the Holy See, and Piedmont reserved the right to go to Rome." (1) Thus their intimacy remained as close as ever.

Count Cavour, Victor Emmanuel's daring Minister, had died a few days before this effective sanction of

(1) Chantrel's "Annales catholiques."

all his deeds; and the recognition by France assured the maintenance of a state of things which his death might have upset. Each day therefore assisted the Revolution. As for the Church, all that they dared to promise her had been summed up by Cavour in one of those insidious phrases which, while appearing to say much, say nothing: "A free Church in a free State."

A letter of the Emperor, dated 20<sup>th</sup> of May 1862, partook of the nature of an ultimatum, all the more accentuated by the comments of his Ministers. It stated that:— "The welfare of the Holy See, the welfare even of religion, demand that the Pope should become reconciled to Italy, that is, to modern ideas, and retain 200,000,000 Catholics in the bosom of the Church, and give a new lustre to religion by displaying Faith supporting the progress of humanity."

The Pope was just preparing to canonize twenty-seven Japanese martyrs; and pilgrims were flocking from every land to form a brilliant gathering around him on the day of the canonization. Nearly three hundred Bishops had answered the summons of the Sovereign Pontiff; they had come from America, Asia, and from all quarters of the globe, accompanied by numberless priests and laymen. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June, S. Andrea-della-Valle was packed with representatives of the Eastern and Western Churches, including numerous converts, who had met together to pray for reunion.

The effect produced by this ceremony, and later on by that of the canonization, was immense; even Protestants were greatly impressed. The "Times"

correspondent said that the moral effect exceeded all possible description; and that those persons were very shallow or ignorant who thought that a stroke of the pen, or the publication of a treaty, would suffice to destroy a religion in which were wrapt the warmest affections of the heart; and who believed that either they or their grandchildren were destined to witness the downfall of a Church, whose foundations were laid in a soil formed by accumulated centuries.

Never indeed had the Church appeared stronger. In his Allocution to the Bishops, Pius IX exposed and condemned, with all the authority and freedom of his holy ministry, the countless errors of the times and, above all, that claim whence all heresies arise, "that human reason, without any respect to God, is the only judge of true and false, good and evil." Nor did he forget to condemn that doctrine which teaches that revelation and reason are subject to continuous and unlimited progress; that sham philosophy which only discerns fiction in our Sacred Books and a myth in the Divine Person of Jesus Christ; that policy which establishes itself as Judge over the Church, not hesitating to trammel her actions, which prevents communication between the head and its members, and denies temporal right and power to the Pope.

The august voice of the Pontiff struck a sympathetic chord in every heart. The Bishops responded:—"Fresh ardour stirs our hearts, stronger vivifying faith enlightens our minds, and more holy love fills our souls." Then addressing the Pontiff:—"Most

Holy Father, by the crime of these usurpers, who only assume the mask of liberty to veil their malice, we see you deprived of provinces which enjoyed just government through the care and protection of the Pontifical dignity and of the whole Church. Your Holiness, with invincible courage, has resisted these iniquitous outrages, and for so doing we tender you the warmest thanks of all Catholics."

"In truth we acknowledge that the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See is a necessity and that it has been established by the manifest design of Divine Providence; we do not hesitate to declare, in the present state of human affairs, that sovereignty is absolutely required for the welfare of the Church and the free government of souls."

Further on they proceed:— "Who then can deny that, amid the conflict of human affairs, opinions, and institutions, there should exist a sacred spot, in the centre of Europe, placed amid the three continents of the old world; an august throne whence should proceed, for Princes and peoples, a great and powerful voice, impartial and uninfluenced, free from all restraint, neither to be dominated by terror nor misled by guile?"

The most authorised representatives of the Catholic world thus spoke; but the Chancelleries of Europe held a different language. The following were the propositions made by France to the Holy Father:—

1. Accept everything which may bind up the Apostolic Chair with Italy; in which case Italy, yielding to the counsels of a wise policy, will not refuse to adopt the guarantees necessary for the

independence of the Sovereign Pontiff and for the free exercise of his power.

2. Independence of the Pope who must be master in his own home. This independence shall be obtained from Italy by her undertaking to recognize the States of the Church and the limits agreed upon, and from the Pope's subjects by their free acceptance of his authority.

The Pope's answer was always the same, "Non possumus."

The government of the Tuileries protested that it had never uttered a word implying consent to the Catholic capital ever becoming the capital of a Kingdom beyond the Alps.

Baron Ricasoli, the Prime Minister, stated that they would reach Rome by the road of reason and persuasion, in agreement with the Emperor of the French; and Signor Ratazzi, his successor, said that the King would make Rome the capital of Italy. These statements were quietly echoing the revolutionary cry of "Rome or Death!" So at least Garibaldi understood; but, as the result might still be delayed, he at once took the field. He thought to renew his Sicilian exploit against Rome; but France, "who protected the Holy Father with her troops," could not permit it. She declined to play the part of dupe; so the Italian Government, after having done what it could to excite angry passions, had now perforce to subdue them. Aspromonte witnessed, on the 28<sup>th</sup> August 1862, the struggle between the revolutionists who were diplomatic and those who were not. The more reckless were vanquished and, if peace was doubtful, at least a truce ensued.



But the Government of Victor Emmanuel had no intention of vainly compromising themselves by firing on their own countrymen, and, if they endeavoured to prevent an armed invasion of the States of the Church, it was only in the expectation that grateful France would herself open the gates. The Minister Durando wrote to the Italian agents at the different Courts:-- "Law has carried the day; but the watchword of the volunteers has been this time, we admit, the expression of a want more imperious than ever. The entire nation demands its capital" . . .

To this demand, somewhat too eager to be diplomatic, Napoleon III replied by dismissing M. Thouvenel, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was rather too sympathetic with the Italian Government, and by replacing him with M. Drouyn de Lhuys, whose antecedents appeared to indicate other tendencies. In fact the whole tone changed, and the new French Ambassador at Rome, Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, was not nearly so rigid as his predecessor, M. de la Valette. What was now particularly required from the Pope were those reforms which, it was said, all Catholic powers agreed were necessary. We have already seen what M. de Rayneval thought on this subject. "They think us more backward than we really are," said the Pope to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne; "sometimes they even go so far as to advise us to undertake certain reforms which have already been adopted long ago, so ignorant are they of what passes here." The Holy Father at once commanded Cardinal Antonelli to draw up a document, which was to be immediately communicated to the

Emperor's Government, explaining the real condition of affairs.

The administrative organization of the Roman States, already appreciated by M. de Rayneval, was, on this occasion, methodically and fully explained; it revealed order where confusion was expected; instead of a despotic centralization, communal and provincial liberties greater than in many other European countries; in a word, instead of a narrow red-tape routine, a wise spirit of improvement and progress. The memorandum in conclusion recalled that, in full parliament at Turin, "the Papal government had been recognized, even by the Holy Father's most bitter enemies, as being the most paternal and the most suitable to the requirements of the inhabitants." It ended with these words, "The Holy Father never ceases to think of what may contribute to the moral and physical welfare of his subjects, and how he may ameliorate their condition, as far as his circumstances and limited means will permit."

It is easy to conjecture the poverty of the exchequer after the spoliations to which the Pope had been subjected; yet, none the less, Pius IX continued to carry out the great works undertaken in the first years of his reign. The army was reorganized; the geographical map of the Roman States was published on a scale of one eighty thousandth, with such precision that it was a work of rare merit both for engraving and topography; statistics were drawn up according to the most approved modern methods; railways were made connecting Rome with Civita-

Vecchia, Naples, Ancona, and Florence. Pius IX, having completed sanitary improvements at Ferrara, now turned his attention to similar works in the Ostian and Pontine Marshes, which he drained by means of steam engines, thus turning swamps into soil fit for cultivation. An agricultural college was founded at Villa Pia; a chair of agriculture was established at La Sapienza; the harbours were enlarged and a vast dock created at Civita-Vecchia.

The Roman walls were magnificently restored, as well as Porta S. Pancrazio and Porta Pia; a handsome fountain was constructed on the Piazza Pia, model dwelling houses and three new homes for foundlings were built in the poorest quarters of the town. Hospitals were enlarged, improved, and richly endowed; and that model hospital, S. Spirito, was extended and beautified. Prisons were rendered more healthy and their rules ameliorated. There were more schools on the basis of population in the Roman States than in any other European country, and Pius IX daily opened fresh ones. The Observatory was reconstructed, enriched with a magnificent meridian circle, and by the addition of a meteorological observatory. The observatory at the Roman College, celebrated for Father Secchi's discoveries, was newly installed throughout and, for the first time, electric telegraphy was applied to meteorology. A technical institute for mensuration had been founded as early as 1852 and was now thrown open as a public school.

Music and the drama received equal encouragement, and government did its best to ensure good moral influence from the latter art. The fine arts were

also favoured; sacred and profane archæology received large subsidies, wherewith ancient Ostia was unearthed and statues, columns, sepulchral pillars, vases and inscriptions, which had lain buried for centuries near the Appian way, discovered. The Coliseum was strengthened against imminent collapse; the Forum was excavated; the Pantheon carefully isolated; the steps leading to the Ulpian Basilica were once more exposed to the light of day, and the Palatine ceased to conceal the lost treasures of the palace of the Cæsars.

The Catacombs were again most carefully explored, thanks to the liberality of the Holy Father and the archæological genius of Commendatore di Rossi. The publication of this learned man's "*Roma Sotteranea*" was quite an event throughout literary Europe. Like the Vatican and the Capitol, the Lateran was henceforth to have its museum furnished with relics of Christianity from the Catacombs; Father Garucci, a Jesuit, drew up the catalogue. The Vatican was thoroughly renovated; a new staircase led to the Court of the Loggie: paintings by Leonardo, Francia, Sassoferrato and Murillo, were added to the previous collection at the Pinacoteca, and a hall was set apart for pictures which were to perpetuate the memory of the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

The reconstruction of the Pauline Basilica, the great object of Leo XII and Gregory XVI, was carried out; the papal altar, the Confession and tribune of the Lateran Basilica were restored, and a new marble pavement was laid in it at the Pope's expense; similar works renewed the Confession at S. Maria

Maggiore; S. Salvatore-in-Lauro was enriched by a new façade; a chapel to S. Andrew was erected near the Porta Cavallegieri; a column to the Immaculate Conception was placed on the Piazza di Spagna; and the ancient Basilica of S. Lorenzo, mutilated and buried for centuries, was beautifully restored to its primitive style. The monumental tombs of Gregory XVI at S. Peter's, of Tasso at S. Onofrio, of Count Rossi at S. Lorenzo-in-Damaso, and of the slain at Castelfidardo at S. John Lateran, were proofs of the piety and generosity of the Pope.

People who peruse Pius IX's Allocutions and Encyclicals will discover that, as in the days of S. Hilary, the Papacy is ever the "*os sufficiens orbi*." No question either dogmatic, philosophical or social, was left unnoticed. The hierarchy was re-established in England and Holland; bishoprics were multiplied in America; Concordats were concluded with many of the Powers; while Bulgaria and the Greek schism itself were laid open to the faith of Peter.

False philosophy has never been more daring than in our own time; it denies the existence of all things, affirming only the independence of reason and the supreme right of criticism. Pius IX combated all such dangerous errors. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of December 1864 the celebrated Encyclical "*Quanta cura*" was published.

Pius IX displayed the same courage in his dealings with the various Christian nations; although nearly dethroned, this monarch pleaded for Poland with the mighty Emperor of All the Russias. Such was Pius IX, and his troubled reign will be remembered

as one of the noblest of our century. His works survive him; his Allocutions on great occasions were models of dignity and firmness, while his familiar conversation was both witty and charming.

From 1862 to 1864 the maintenance of the *status quo* by the French Government momentarily quelled alarm; but the announcement of the Convention of September 15<sup>th</sup> led to fresh fears, and marked the close of 1864 with sinister forebodings. By the terms of this Convention, the French undertook to evacuate Rome within the space of two years, and, on his side, Victor Emmanuel bound himself to protect from all foreign aggression what property was left to the Pope. At the same time Turin ceded her title of capital to Florence. For the French Government this implied entire renunciation of Rome; for the Italian it meant a step nearer to Rome.

It, however, made clear that the Pontifical States, once of sufficient extent to be self-supporting, yet too small to threaten anyone, were henceforth at the mercy of an ambitious and powerful sovereign who might take advantage of the least European complication to crush them.

The liberty of the Church had sunk to this! But at least one fact was established. Though the Revolution might come to Rome it would not be at the instigation or by the desire of the Roman people, but, as Pius IX himself foretold, accompanied by violence and terror from outside. So imminent, however, appeared the danger that the French Government recruited a legion for service under the Papal flag, zouaves poured into Rome from France, Belgium, and

Holland, Veteran officers again took down their swords, new battalions were formed, and from all sides came marks of public sympathy. But the danger passed by once again, leaving the Pope more popular at Rome than ever. (1)

At the very time fixed by the Revolution for the downfall of his throne, Pius IX summoned the Bishops of Christendom to Rome, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June 1867, for the purpose of celebrating the eighteenth centenary of the Apostle's martyrdom. Pius IX marked the occasion by fresh canonizations. Probably no Pope has inscribed more names of saints in the calendar. A priest remarked:— "Poichè tacciano i vivi, la Chiesa fa parlare i morti." (2)

Thus Rome remains the same, no matter what trials await her. Twenty and thirty times the Popes have been driven from the tombs of the Apostles, and on each occasion they have returned. When some Japanese martyrs were canonized by Pius IX he ordered that two medals should be struck for the Bishops and priests who supported him. The medal intended for the Bishops represented the Pauline Basilica in all the splendour of its restoration, that for the priests, on the contrary, depicted it in all the desolation of its ruin. "It will remind you," said the august Pontiff, "that in spite of all efforts to the contrary, the Church always restores what ought

(1) It will be seen that this history does not go beyond the year 1867. [Translator's note.]

(2) Father Eusebius's "Vie du B. Benoît d'Urbain."

to be left standing." (1) The saying of S. Hilary, which Pius IX once quoted under other circumstances, applies again:— "The characteristic of the Catholic Church is to conquer when she is wounded, to subdue cunning when she is accused, and to regain all things when she has been abandoned." (2)

(1) The beautiful Basilica of S. Paul, burnt on the night of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> of July 1823, was rebuilt, in spite of great opposition, by order of Leo XII. This splendid reconstruction, restored on the lines of the ancient building, was one of the greatest works of the pontificates of Gregory XVI and Pius IX.

(2) Consistory of the 13<sup>th</sup> of July 1860.

THE END.





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